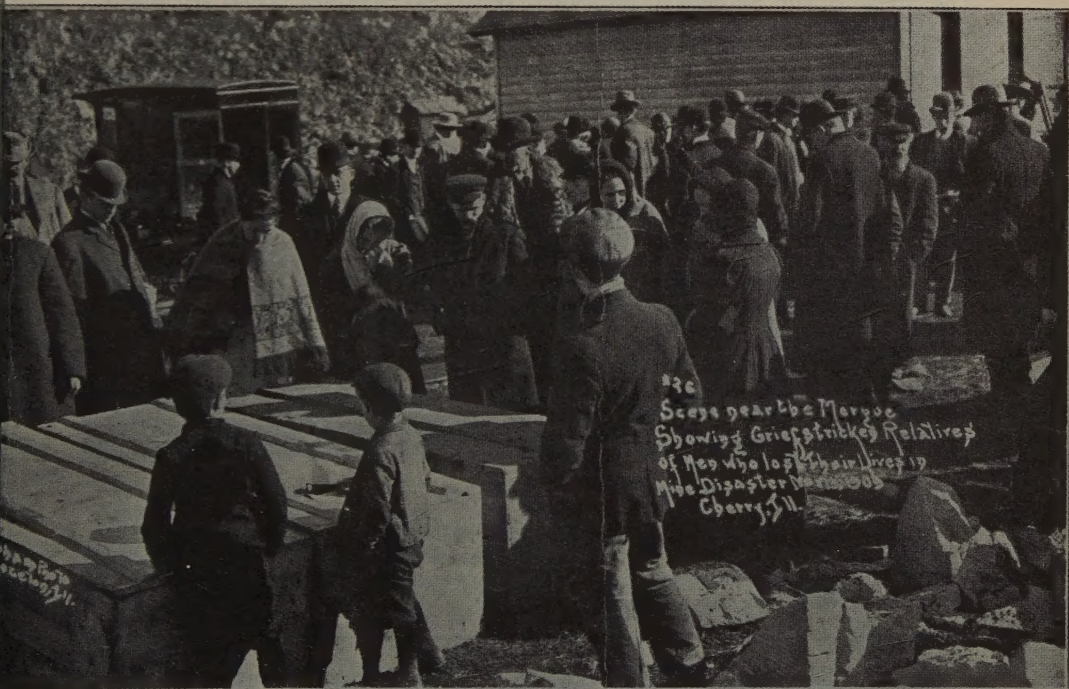


The INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW

JANUARY, 1910

TEN CENTS



Scene near the Maroon
Showing Grief-stricken Relatives
of Men who lost their lives in
the Disaster near Cherry, Ill.

The Murder of the Miners at Cherry

The International Socialist Review

A MONTHLY JOURNAL OF INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST THOUGHT

EDITED BY CHARLES H. KERR

ASSOCIATE EDITORS: Mary E. Marcy, Robert Rives La Monte, Max S. Hayes,
William E. Bohn.

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International Notes The World of Labor News and Views

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THE INTERNATIONAL Socialist Review

Vol. X.

JANUARY, 1910

No. 7

The Cherry Mine Murders.

Why Four Hundred Workers Were Burned and Suffocated
in a Criminal Fire Trap.

By J. O. BENTALL.



DEAD ROW.



AS your brother one of the four hundred who perished in the Cherry coal mine November 13th? Or was it your father? Your husband? Your son?

My brother was there. My father. My son. I helped carry them out. They were cold in death. They were covered with coal dust and swollen from

black damp.

I am telling you this story from what I have seen with my own eyes. Not from hearsay.

I went from Chicago right to Cherry. With thousands of others I stood and looked from the outside. Then I broke through the line and joined the volunteer rescuers. I put on overalls, jacket, cap and lamp and went down into the tomb that contained over four hundred victims—a few living, most of them dead.

I helped plug the entries to prevent the fire from spreading. I had a hand in timbering where the roof was loose, or where collars were breaking. I cut legs off the dead mules so we could get them through the passageways and clear the track for bringing out the men. I was with the gang that found nineteen dead in one pile and twenty-one in another, thirty-seven in a third and one hundred and sixty-two in a fourth.

We took those men—our brothers—and loaded them into the cars—eight or ten of them into each car. We pushed them a mile, a mile and a half, through the tunnels to the shaft and brought them up. We laid them on canvas in rows on the ground—in rows eighty, a hundred feet long. We carried them on stretchers, made of scantlings and coarse canvas, into the morgue. We put them into pine coffins—cheap boxes—furnished by the company. We brushed away a tear occasionally as the body of our brother was hauled off to the long trench—the ditch—dug for him and the others, for the old man whose gray hair was black with coal, for the little pale boy whose mother stood shivering on the edge of the collective tomb.

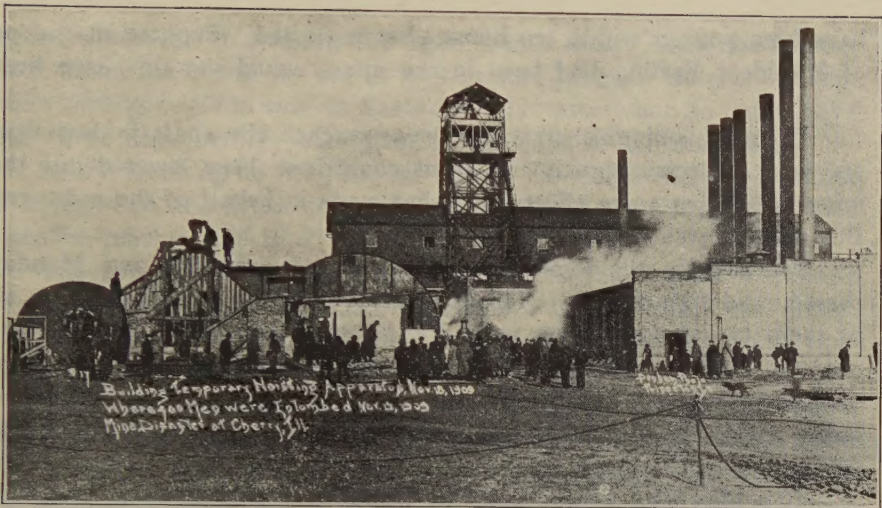
You already know how the company failed to repair the electric lighting. How unprotected torches were put up along the tracks where coal and hay was pushed. How the bales brushed the torches and caught fire. How little boys under legal age were made to do this work that grown men should have done. How these little fellows became frightened when the hay caught fire and how they were left without aid in their death-trap. How they had to run around empty-handed, not a bucket or barrel of water being provided in the entire mine.

All this you have heard and doubted. I found that every bit of it was true.

I found more.

Jennie Miller told me that as soon as she heard that something was wrong at the mine she hastened to the shaft. For two hours after the fire was started, while coal was being hoisted, she stood there waiting for her husband to come up. But he didn't. The coal cars came. Her husband came up ten days later and I helped carry him to the morgue.

The men who heard about the fire wanted to go up at once but were told by the company's boss to "get back to work, you cowards." There was coal to be hauled up and the men could wait. They waited. Two hundred of them are still waiting. Nearly two hundred others are waiting in the trench in the company's pine boxes.



THE MURDER TRAP

The fire spread and became intense. The fan was sucking the air up, and the air shaft, built of brittle wood instead of being constructed of iron and steel as the law prescribes, was soon threatened. To avoid loss of a few boards in the air shaft the fan was reversed, throwing the wind, and with it the fire, up the main shaft.

The two shafts were now successfully closed to all living beings. Other exits there were none. That the law requires escapes for the workers was treated as an absurdity by the company.

To dig holes in the ground for the safety of the miners is to dig holes into the dividends of the company. Neither of them were dug. To make provisions for the workers' reasonable security is not the concern of the company.

No! No! It does not pay to make things safe for the workers.

Then, to stop the fire the mine had to be sealed. Everybody knew that this also sealed the fate of the entombed men. But the coal was burning and that must not be allowed.

The unfortunates in the dark channels knew what that meant. They hastened to remote parts of the mine. They knew that black damp, the miners' deathly dread, was following them. They built walls and tamped the cracks to shut out their deadly enemy. They killed the mules so they would not consume the limited supply of oxygen in the prison of these men. Then they waited. They had faith in the men on top and in their comrades who knew their fate.

But the company stood in the way. The comrades above pleaded and implored. But the iron soul of the company refused to yield.

The consensus of opinion among the miners is that the fire could

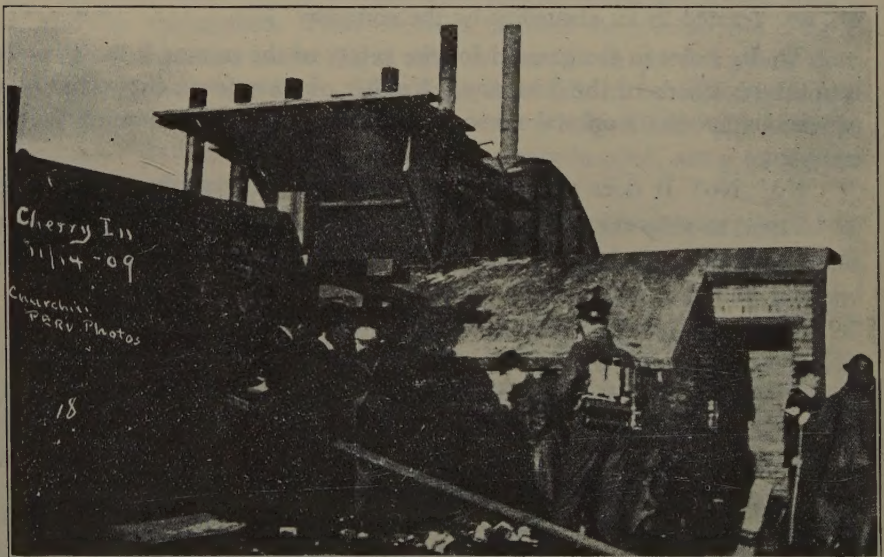
have been put out within ten hours after it started. Suppose that a son of President Earling had been in the mine, would not this have been done?

Chemical extinguishers could have reached the shaft in less than one hour. Electric signals and lights could have been lowered into the mine to tell that some effort was being made in behalf of the prisoners. Put nothing was done.

The men in the tomb waited and waited. Sunday and Monday passed. No sign of help. Tuesday and Wednesday came and went, all of them twenty-four hours each. The water was gone. The oil was used up. Hunger and thirst became unendurable. The mules had been dead several days. Their flesh, raw and putrid, was not inviting, but it tasted good. In the meanwhile the officials dined sumptuously in the palace cars.

Thursday and Friday saw the mine open and rescuers descend. Headed by pompous state and company officials it was difficult for the practical miners to do much. We pleaded with the officials to be allowed to go into this entry and that, to be allowed to investigate the possible retreats where men might be alive, but we were always told to stick right to the "inspectors."

We had passed those entries for three days. Several of them were known to contain workers, but what could we do? The hunger and thirst of the men in these dungeons drove them into a frenzy. They



"THE MEN IN THE TOMB WAITED AND WAITED."

agreed that even if opening the door would mean swift death from black damp there was no use in waiting any longer. So one of them broke through. This was on Saturday. He saw what he could have seen three days before—the lights in the caps of the rescuers.

A cry went up to his fellows. Some came crawling out. Most of them were too weak to walk and had to be carried. One died when he reached the top. Twenty are still alive.

The company took them into custody to shape their testimony as much as possible and to scold them for having killed the mules. The wives and children were not allowed to see them for some time except through the windows of the cars.

The rescue work still dragged. On Sunday, a week after the fire, we went down again. But the inspectors held us back all the time. We fixed the entry where some smoke was coming out. While in the process of doing this "Inspector" Dunlop wanted a hole plugged. I had cut a sand bag open with an ax, thus tearing the sack instead of carefully untying the string. This ragged sack was known to be in the pile somewhere and Dunlop told us to hunt for it.

"Here is another sack to plug the hole," I suggested.

"Damn it; that's too good. The broken sack will do," answered Dunlop.

I took on a humble look and agreed with him that it was wasteful to take a new sack to stop up a hole with and as we could not find the torn one, I obeyed his stern command to "plug it with clay."

But Dunlop did not know who I was or he would not have tried so hard to save four cents for the company.

When we were through plugging this entry, which was done in a short time, we proceeded to explore other places where men, living or dead, might be found.

We met "Inspector" Taylor, who also was in command. Taylor and Dunlop fell into a discussion and did not agree. It was this and it was that. The whole procedure was clearly made up. I got into a bunch of fellows who wanted to do something. We stole away and fell upon a heap of some twenty bodies. We took three of them to the shaft and went up. By that time there were some twenty thousand people at the mine bending the ropes and craning their necks to see the product of the rescuers' work.

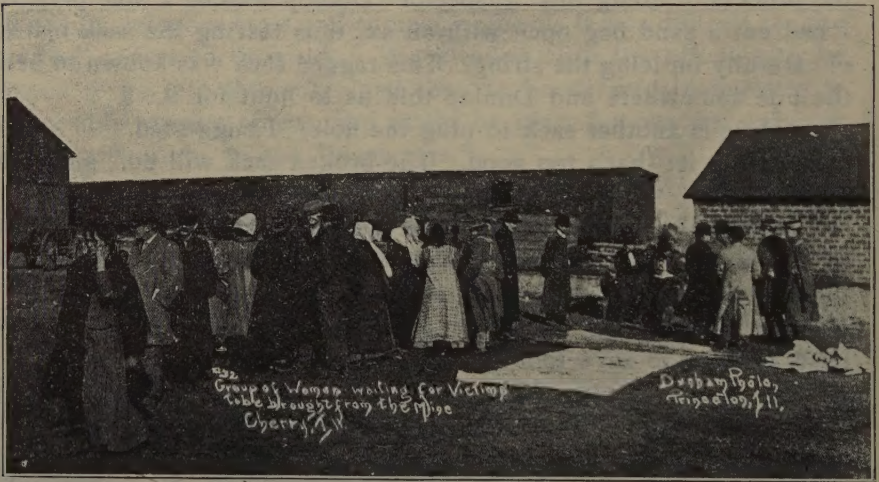
It was not pleasing to the company to have any more bodies brought up that day and we were "gently" told not to leave the "inspectors" any more, and we didn't.

During the middle of the afternoon of this same Sunday—the second after the fire—about forty of us were down to help out. Among them were Duncan McDonald and Bill James, union officials. We

were all ready to do something, but were told to sit down and wait until the "inspector" and one of the men go off to see if everything was safe. We waited for three hours and became alarmed, thinking the advance explorers might have been overcome by black damp. We sent two fellows to investigate. The "inspector" became quite indignant, and our committee was told to go back and mind its orders.

In this way all Sunday was spent. The people on top were under the impression that the rescuers below were busy. The widows were sure that their husbands would soon be brought forth.

Little Albert Buckle, 15 years old November 28, who escaped on the last car up, and his mother and sister stood at the ropes all day watching for "Rich," who was 16 years the 21st of last June, and who had worked in the mine ever since his father was killed three years ago, but poor Richard was not brought up that day. On



DESPAIR—A GROUP OF WAGE SLAVES.

Monday I went to see the broken-hearted mother but I could not comfort her.

At one time we were told by "Inspector" Taylor that real work was to be done. Twenty of us were at the bottom of the mine ready to take orders and go ahead.

Taylor laid fine plans. "I will put five or six of you in charge of Mr. Jones. Another company will go with Mr. Smith. Two or three will go with me. The rest will be stationed as follows."

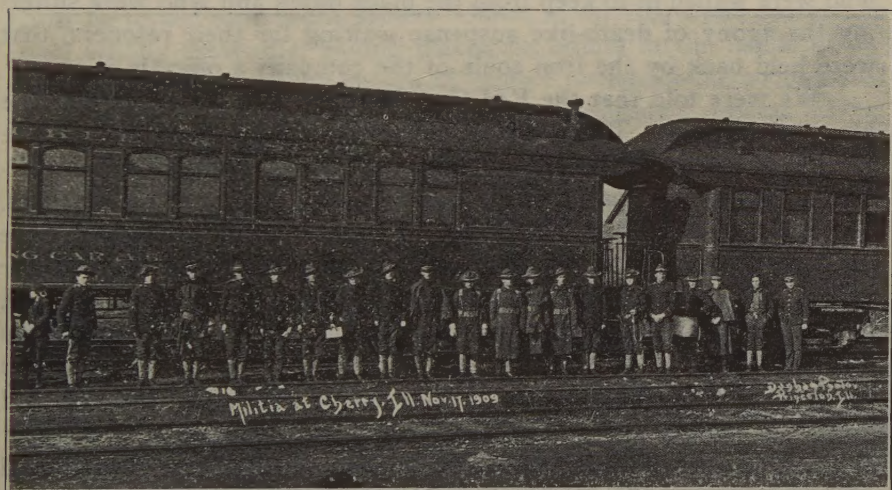
A fine plan was outlined. We felt good. Everybody was ready and it actually seemed as if we were to accomplish something. But all at once, after this elaborate schedule which had consumed over an hour, "Inspector" Taylor turned to us very pleasantly, saying:

"Now, gentlemen, you have been down here quite a while and it would be well for you all to go up to get a lunch. Then we will carry on the work we have outlined."

Of course there was nothing to do but to go up and get a lunch. It is needless to say that Taylor never got back to the boys to execute the plan.

But we went up to lunch. Yes, for ten days we had gone up to lunch every six or eight hours. It was hard work to wander around in the miné. We needed fresh air and material to make blood and muscle out of.

The lunch room was in the company's boiler room. There were two pieces of flooring sixteen feet long on some old boxes wiggling on a pile of gas pipes and iron carelessly scattered from the repair corner. Facing us as we sat down was a "table" made up of *three*



ON DUTY—TO PROTECT "PROPERTY."

pieces of flooring on two empty salt barrels. At the end of the table was a dirty gasoline stove on top of which was a precarious-looking wash boiler with coffee.

On the "table" were two dozen tin cups, a paper box with sugar, a tray of ham sandwiches and *two* spoons. Three "visiting nurses" were between us and the table who handed sandwiches and coffee to the volunteer rescuers. One nurse at each end of the line would start to stir the coffee for the men and when they met in the middle with the two spoons held high in the air they would call out:

"Are you all stirred?"

"Yes, we are all stirred," I told them, "mightily stirred. Have they only two spoons over in the Pullman cars also?"

"Oh, there are lots of spoons over there, but they are for the officials," was the reply.

After twelve days the best the company could do was to furnish the volunteers with sandwiches, coffee and two spoons. This was our food. They also furnished lodging.

Yes, in the night when we were too tired to go down another trip we tried to find a spot to rest. The firemen had been made to "double up" in the Pullmans, but the berths thus made available were *for sale* at such a figure as to make it impossible for the volunteers to sleep in these comfortable bunks.

So we just found some old paper and spread it on the brick-paved floor of the boiler room, selected a chunk of coal on which we also placed a piece of paper and used it for a pillow.

And we were fairly comfortable—more so than the men in the mine, who were walled in to keep from the black damp and who were suffering the agony of death-like suspense waiting for their rescuers, that were held back by the iron souls of the company's officials.

We were told that the Red Cross Society was taking care of the hungry in Cherry. Thousands of dollars have been given to this fake society, of which W. H. Taft, President of the United States, is president. This society can be forgiven for its total neglect of the rescuers. The society for prohibiting cruelty to animals would, however, have declared it outrageous to feed men on only one kind of food for a long time, especially when they are working as the volunteers were. "The Red Cross" could not see this fearful wrong. Nor could this Red Cross—rather *Red Graft*, this bloody hypocrite of the capitalist hydra—discover any need among the people bereft of husbands and brothers, starving in their hovels. I went around to a great number of homes and asked how their needs were supplied. Most of them had been helped by kind neighbors, none by the Red Cross. The only beneficiaries of the Red Cross seemed to be the soldiers and the nurses, who were having a high time flirting and carousing, while the hungry women and children in Cherry were the least possible concern to the Red Graft.

Had it not been for the neighbors and some farmers, as well as the little Congregational church, whose basement was given over to the charity workers, the women and children of the murdered miners would have suffered from starvation even the first and second week. I brought this criminal neglect on the part of the Red Corss Society to the notice of several prominent people, but my story was not believed. I pointed out how the Red Cross had utterly failed to pay any attention to the awful distress of the bereaved, but everybody had faith in this national organization in spite of the fumbings it has been

guilty of from the catastrophe in San Francisco to the Cherry holocaust.

Now, after a month of suffering, when the wail and cry of the cold and hungry can no longer be smothered, the daily papers are compelled to show up the real situation.

But in spite of these facts, Graham Taylor, D. D., a minister and professor in the Chicago Theological Seminary, member of the Illinois Mining Investigating Committee, writes an article in "The Survey," lauding the Red Cross, the "inspectors" and company, bluffing the people into the belief that the hundreds of thousands of dollars given to the Red Cross are judiciously spent, when he knows or ought to know that scarcely a dripping has actually gone to the real sufferers.

And just now Alderman Scully, of Chicago, who has been to Cherry and seen the situation, demands that the public funds given to the Red Cross be turned over to the Miners' Union, as the Red Cross has proven itself wholly incapable, having placed its orders in the hands of unscrupulous merchants who charge 25 cents a pound for the poorest kind of meat and in every other way demand exorbitant prices, leaving people in utmost destitution.

This Red Cross Society is what Graham Taylor calls "an experienced agency which commanded the confidence of the local and outside communities."

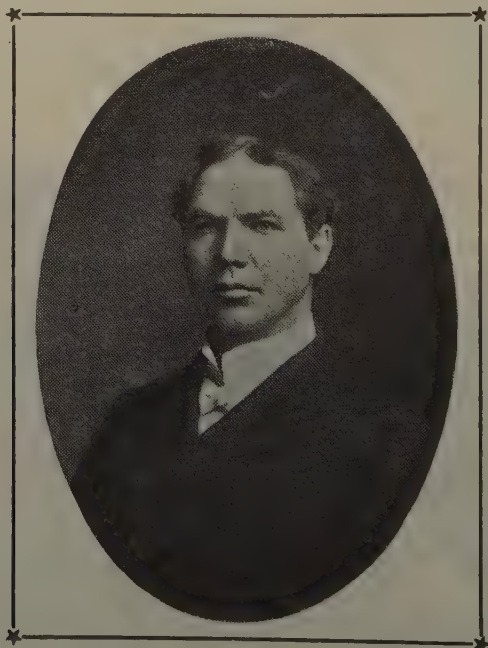


MADE ORPHANS BY CAPITALISM.

One little farmer woman, Mrs. Anna N. Kendall, living a few miles from Cherry, did more all alone in providing needed clothing for the babies, that were being born while their fathers were carried out of the black pit, and for two hundred other little ones yet to be born into the world fatherless, than all the Red Cross Society with its large retinue of officers and salaried relief experts has done during the entire period of distress in Cherry. She is the real charity heroine in the Cherry disaster.

Had the miners' union been in shape to take hold—to *demand possession* of the situation—from the start the workers could have been brought out alive with very few exceptions, and the immediate wants of those who had lost their bread winners could have been filled systematically and efficiently.

But this wholesale murder of workers, with the subsequent outrages on the patience and long suffering of their relatives and the people in general, with the spiriting away of witnesses and the frustration of justice, forces upon the toilers a new reason why we should unite and take into our own hands the industries of the world and put within reach the elements necessary to the life and progress of the whole human race.



J. O. BENTALL,
State Secretary, Socialist Party of Illinois.

The Brotherhood of Capital and Labor: Its Effect on Labor.

BY VINCENT ST. JOHN.



THE wanton slaughter of over three hundred coal miners at Cherry, Ill., has caused a spasm of demanding more laws, enforcement of existing laws, *ad nauseam*.

Much space is also being used by the officials of the Illinois district of the United Mine Workers of America, the organization that by virtue of its usefulness to the mine operators is permitted to collect dues and fines through the companies' offices. In return these officials use the power of the organization to keep the membership in subjection.

These officials are now rushing into print and loudly proclaiming the guilt of one of their partners in order to save their own face and at the same time distract the membership from realizing one of the effects of the co-partnership between the officers of the U. M. W. A. and the employer.

The appalling loss of life in the coal mining industry of the United States is not by any means a recent development. The records of the last fifteen years show that the death rate has increased from 2.67 per 1,000 employed to 3.50 per 1,000. These records are compiled by servants of the ruling class, so it is safe to say that they are not exaggerated.

Last year, after the disaster in which some 400 men and boys were killed in a West Virginia mine, one of the U. M. W. A. officials called the attention of the country to the fact that all of these great disasters occurred only in mines that were not under the jurisdiction of the U. M. W. A. The claim was made that the U. M. W. A. used the power of the organization to enforce safety regulations and therefore prevented the occurrence of these disasters. The state of Illinois was cited as an example. Yet we have one year later an accident (?) in the state of Illinois that is purely the result of lack of proper safety appliances and total disregard of the welfare of the men underground. This accident (?) did not occur from an accumulation of gases due to improper ventilation; neither did it happen with the suddenness of an explosion, that always serves to conceal lack of ventilation and excuse the loss of life in coal mines. In the disaster at Cherry the fire was burning for some two hours, and no attempt was made to get the men out.

The Cherry holocaust brings in forcible relief the main causes that made it possible. They are:

The utter disregard by the employing class of all precautions that tend to protect the lives of the workers, when such precautions cost money.

The inevitable result of the "harmony of interest" policy between a labor organization and the employers.

The futility of the workers depending upon "legal enactments" to protect them against danger.

It may be urged by some in defense of the "harmony of interest" officials that the fault lies with the membership of the union for working under conditions that they know to be in violation of the safety regulations. If this is any excuse for the officials it is of more weight as an excuse for the employers, and while the workers are to blame for working under conditions that are not as safe as they could be made, that fact in no way excuses the officials who are paid a salary by the membership to look after just those things. And the worker has the excuse of his necessities that compel him to disregard proper precautions in order to live—an excuse that the union officials and their partners the mine owners have not.

There is an excuse for the mine worker who is forced by the employer and the officials of his own organization to work under dangerous conditions.

Since the disaster at Cherry the officials of the twelfth district, U. M. W. A., have admitted in the daily press that the St. Paul mine is not the only mine in the state that is operated without regard to the safety of the workers and in open violation of the laws. Their own constitution provides in Art. III, Sec. 6:

"The state officers and sub-district Presidents shall send in a written report of all violations of the state laws and agreements, by either operators or miners, to the Secretary-Treasurer, who shall compile the same for future reference."

The question is, have the state officers complied with this requirement? If they have why were the membership permitted to work in unsafe mines? If they have not, why not?

The following notice of a state mine inspector, posted at Dunfermline, Ill., was copied verbatim by me during a recent trip in the state:

"I have this day inspected Big Creek Coal Co. Mine No. 4 of Dunfermline and find its condition as follows:

"North side 13 and 14 E. cut open, full of smoke; 15 and 16 E. the same; entries, north E., no air; 15 and 16 W., no air; 13 and 14 West, no air; south 9 and 10, E. 11 and 12, W. entries of 2 south, no air; no doors or curtains to air this part of the mine.

"For the better protection of the lives and health of the employes would recommend the following:

"That you put doors up in the above workings, to give those men air in all working places.

"You were informed of this last inspection and must be done at once.

"Date of inspection, March 20th, 1908.

"Date of last inspection, Dec. 4th, 1907.

"Number of hours required to make inspection, ——— "TOM PARCEL,
"Inspector of Mines, 4th District."

The above is a specimen of reports made at mines.

Art. VII, Sec. 4, last paragraph, provides:

"No boy shall be admitted to the local union, who is under the age of sixteen years."

The agreement between the Twelfth District, U. M. W. A., and the Illinois Coal Operators' Association gives complete jurisdiction over all workers in the mines to the U. M. W. A., yet among those whose burned and blackened bodies have so far been brought to the surface at Cherry are a number of BOYS under the age of 16 years.

What act of the officials of the Twelfth District can they point out showing that they have ever made any attempt to correct these violations at the St. Paul mine or anywhere else in the state?

They knew of these conditions before the Cherry disaster. If they did not know of them prior to that, how did they discover the facts so soon after the St. Paul mine had snuffed out the lives of over three hundred of their membership? Why did they not find it out before if it takes so short a time to get the knowledge that they now admit having? What steps have they taken to prevent a recurrence of the Cherry accident at other mines since they have confessed their guilt?

Why don't the miners refuse to work when the regulations necessary to their safety are disregarded? Here is the answer:

Art. VI of their constitution provides:

Any local union striking in violation of the above provisions will not be recognized or sustained by the state officers. Before final action is taken by any district upon questions that directly or indirectly affect the interests of the mine workers of another district, or may require a strike to determine, the President and Secretary of the aggrieved district shall jointly prepare, sign and forward to the International President a statement setting forth the grievance complained of, the action contemplated by the district, together with the reasons therefor, and shall await the decision and direction of the International President and be governed thereby. *In all cases the Mine Committee, the employees and all parties involved must continue work pending an investigation and adjustment until a final decision is reached in the manner above set forth.*

SECTION 3. Any local union, committee, or member acting in violation of Sections 1 and 2 of this Article, shall be liable to expulsion or fine, subject to the discretion of the District Executive Board.

The agreement with the Illinois Coal Operators' Association provides:

"Any member or members of the U. M. W. of America guilty of throwing a mine idle or materially REDUCING THE OUTPUT by failure to continue at work in accordance with the provisions of this agreement, shall be fined ten dollars (\$10.00) each.

"All fines collected as above shall be paid, one-half to the state treasurer of the U. M. W. of America, AND ONE-HALF TO THE TREASURER OF THE ILLINOIS COAL OPERATORS' ASSOCIATION, and under no consideration shall any fines so collected be refunded.

"All violations shall be reported immediately, and an investigation shall be made at once by the state officers of THE TWO organizations. A decision shall be promptly made and the fine checked off and paid as provided above.

"This contract is based upon existing mining laws, and neither party to the contract shall initiate or encourage the passage of laws that would in any manner affect the obligations of this contract or abrogate its provisions, except as may be mutually agreed to."

Here is the testimony of a member of the U. M. W. A., who for years was active in the organization, and served as pit committeeman delegate to national conventions from the very start of the organization up to the time that he could no longer stand the strain of bucking against "harmony of interest" sub-district, district, state and national officers.

For obvious reasons his name will be withheld:

"It is generally known throughout the state that the mining laws are ignored by the coal companies, and if the men take up the violations as grievances the officers simply refer them to the 'inspectors' and that's the end to it, except that the kickers are found out, and then the 'boss' gets them as soon as possible."

There are many ways for the boss to get a "kicker"; work them in poor coal, wet workings, lay them off first, and many other ways.

And here is what happens when the workers try to protect themselves. This incident is only one of many. Here is what one of the victimized miners of Panama, Ill., writes:

"The I. W. W. was not responsible in any way for the late trouble in Panama. Fellow-Worker Fennell and myself advised the men not to lay the mine idle, as should they do so they would be punished first and tried afterward.

"One of Board Member Burns' first actions after calling a meeting of the men was to make a bitter attack on the I. W. W., making several charges, all of which were punctured by the writer and others.

"It was shown conclusively to Burns and also by our delegates to the convention at Springfield, that the I. W. W. had no hand in the affair, which was wholly a trouble within the U. M. W. of A., the result of the arbitrary mandates of the officers and the scab-breeding system of fining men for revolting when the encroachments of their employers have become unbearable.

"It is ridiculous to assert that one man could have influenced 300 in their action even if the evidence did not prove the exact opposite, yet our delegates report that Fellow-Worker Fennell was charged by Board Member Germer with being responsible for the whole affair.

"According to the settlement made between the company officials and Vice-President Farrington, at which meeting our delegates were not allowed to be represented, nine men, including Fellow-Worker Fennell, were discharged from the employ of the company.

"If Fennell was responsible for the whole affair why the other eight, none of whom were I. W. W. men? Some of those included in the list had not even been present at a meeting, or had a word to say about the case; one or two, though, had offended the company in the past.

"In the light of these facts it would appear that after all possible had been dragged into the original charge a couple were added for good measure, the company and miners' officials taking turn about in nominating candidates for the skidoo route. In such an event it would not be hard for the readers of this paper to judge from whom Fellow-Worker Fennell got 'his.'"

"Yours for the revolutionary economic organization of the working class.
"H. B. EWING."

Form 22.

PAY-ROLL STATEMENT.

No. 135.

Mar. 15, 1908.

SHOAL CREEK COAL COMPANY
in account with
MOSE FENNELL.
WORK.

78.05 Tons \$42.92

DEDUCTIONS.

Rent	\$ 4.50
Blacksmithing45
Shot Firing85
Powder	5.25
Union85
Fines by order U. M. W. of A.	20.00
Collections25
Checks50

Total deductions \$32.65

Balance due 10.27

This is a reproduction of the time check of one of the Panama members victimized. Note fine deducted and shot firing.

The cause of the controversy at Panama was as follows: Two men were killed by a shot in the mine and the company used that as an excuse to put on more shot firerers. The wages to pay the extra shot firers was deducted from the men's pay checks. This was contrary to the law that provides that the coal operator will pay the shot firers. The men tied up the mine to try and force the company to comply with the law.

In 1906 the U. M. W. A. officials spent several thousand dollars lobbying this bill to compel the use and payment of shot firers through the legislature. The law was enacted and contains the provision that the coal operator is not allowed to dock the miners to pay the shot firing. In spite of the "law" the mine operators docked each miner a pro rata of the amount that it took to pay the shot firers. In 1908 the contract that was entered into between the U. M. W. A. and the coal operators expressly states that the miners will pay the shot firer, regardless of the provision of the law that the miners' officials had spent thousands of dollars to have it passed.

The question arises, why should the officials of the U. M. W. A. act that way? The answer is that the U. M. W. A. officials only aim at

establishing an agreement between the operator and the U. M. W. A., whereby the check-off and fining system is established, thus making the coal operator the dues collector for the organization that pays the salary of the officials. In order to get the check-off the union officials must give the companies something in return, and that something is given by rendering the U. M. W. A. harmless so far as endangering the profits of the operators is concerned. In return the operators collect the dues from the members that go to pay the salaries of the officials. By the check-off the partnership between labor and capital is cemented, the salaries of the officials are assured, and, what is more, funds are collected that lie in banks upon which the banks pay a bonus of extra interest that goes into the pockets of the officials, to say nothing of the many friendly little tips on "good things" that are put in the way of those who are in the partnership between capital and labor, and it does not matter if the price is a few hundred lives of the workers now and then. "Why do they want to work under such conditions?"

These funds will in the end become the property of the set of officials that happen to be in office when they consider the time ripe to start a row in the organization, and throw the funds into the courts; by the time litigation is finished there will be nothing left but the contending sets of officers.

Last July the now secretary of the Twelfth District of the U. M. W. A. paid an unofficial visit to the convention of the W. F. M. and took pains to make it known that he was there unofficially. Frank Hayes took up about two hours apologizing for the check-off and harmony-of-interest policy, telling what the U. M. W. A. had accomplished for the coal miner. The disaster at Cherry gives the lie to all of Mr. Hayes' claims, and his utterances in the press of the present time but add his own testimony to prove that his claims made in Denver were not facts. If the claims were good, why is it that in the stronghold of the U. M. W. A., the Twelfth District, the conditions are such that boys under 15 years of age are forced into the mines to help support the family? And why is it that they have to labor under working conditions that totally disregard the safety regulations, and finally result in their being brought to the surface blackened corpses? Yea, verily, the brotherhood of capital and labor pays well—for the capitalist and the officials—but is hell on the laborer.

Last year about this time a driver in the Sunnyside mine in the state of Indiana insisted that a dangerous piece of ground that he had to pass under be made safe before he made any more trips. His insistence was so strong that the "boss got him."

Thereupon all the workers in the mine quit at once to force the reinstatement of the member who was discharged for insisting that the

mine be made safe. In due time the coal operators in question called upon the International President of the U. M. W. A. to protect his contract with the coal operators, or they would cease to collect the dues for him. This threat was sufficient to bring Mr. U. M. W. A. President to time; he notified the unions in question that if they did not immediately resume work their charter would be revoked and their places filled. The men refused to be bulldozed back and the charters were revoked, but Mr. President was not able to fill the mine with scabs.

The outcome was that between the pressure of the coal operators on one side and the officials of the U. M. W. A. on the other the men were finally forced back to work. The reinstatement of the driver was arbitrated!

Where, then, does the blame for the death of these men and children belong? The blame belongs to the capitalist system and those who benefit by the system—the coal mine owners and their partners, the officials of the United Mine Workers of America.

The remedy for the situation does not lie in enacting MORE legislation. More legislation will only serve to fatten the bank account of the lawyers and give judges an opportunity to prove their loyalty to the ruling class. Nor does it consist in electing state officials who will enforce existing statutes.

The only manner in which the coal miner can put a stop to the wanton slaughter of men in coal mines and other industries as well is by active, aggressive revolutionary organization of the workers in the mines that will determine when the works are unsafe and will at once close down the mine that does not keep its workings in a safe condition. An organization that will educate its members to know that in case of fire the men shall be taken to the surface at once, and it will be the duty of the engineers who are a part of the organization to see that this is done. After the last man is out, it will be time enough to consider what steps should be taken to save the employers' property. An organization that will be able to enforce conditions in the coal mining industry so that school boys do not have to go to work in the mines; an organization that will enact the legislation to govern the operation of the industry in its own meetings, and will enforce its enactments with every member of the organization.

Only in this way can the coal miners solve the problem of safety for himself, and at the same time lay the foundation of an organization of the workers that shall solve once and for all the problem of existence for all the workers.

A Labor Party.



THE letters which follow are all written by candidates whose names appear on the official ballot now being taken for a new National Executive Committee. The first is a letter addressed by A. M. Simons to William English Walling, and is here published by permission from Mr. Walling. He wishes us to state that he had at first intended not to publish this letter, but had quoted a large part of it in private letters to a number of socialists. "However," says Mr. Walling, "Mr. Simons has published a letter in which, while not mentioning my name, he casts certain reflections upon me on account of the action just mentioned. To exculpate myself I consider that I am now fully justified in giving his letter to the general public."

A. M. SIMONS TO WILLIAM ENGLISH WALLING.

November 19, 1909.

My Dear Walling:

I was extremely sorry that it was impossible for me to come to New York from Toronto. I feel more deeply than ever before in the history of the Socialist movement that we are in an intensely critical period and one in which it will be easy to destroy the work of years and set things back for some time, or where the forces of revolution can be organized and crystalized at such a rate that the social revolution can be brought to our very doors.

I was deeply impressed with things I saw and heard at Toronto. not upon the floor of the convention, but in **private conversation and little social gatherings**. The most pitiful thing about the situation is the intense hatred against the Socialist Party combined with a **perfect willingness to accept the philosophy of Socialism**. I believe, and my opinion was shared by many others of wider knowledge and longer experience, that fully one-half of the delegates, and many said two-thirds, were **EX-members** of the Socialist Party, or the S. L. P. **That is the most terrible indictment that could be drawn of OUR methods**. Moreover I found that nearly three-fourths of these EX-members and many besides are ready and anxious for a **working-class party**.

Now we have two alternatives before us, for the moment at least, but the first of these is going to be gone before long. The first of these, and the one that must be seized quickly or it will disappear, is to so reform the Socialist Party that it will fill the function for which it was intended. Right here we come to the most delicate portion of the work before us. How to preserve the S. P. through the transition that is absolutely necessary is the difficult task. Here is where we **MUST not jeopardize action for the sake of our own peculiar ideas**.

The S. P. has become a hissing and a by-word with the actual wage-workers of America. It has become a party of the two ex-

tremes. On the one side are a bunch of intellectuals like MYSELF and Spargo and Hunter and Hillquit, on the other is a bunch of "never works," demagogues and would-be intellectuals, a veritable "lumpen-proletariat." The actual wage-workers, the men who are really FIGHTING the class struggle are outside.

It is not a question of philosophy with which we are confronted, but of facts. To meet this situation we must clean out this bunch of petty politicians. I wish you were here that I could show you, the evidence of their work in nearly every state in the country.

Now unfortunately they have seen fit in some places to throw in their lot with the I. W. W., although in others they are its most bitter opponents. So there will be an effort to involve this question.

Personally I have great sympathy with industrial unionism, but not as a panacea. I think that its most deadly enemy is the man who talks about it as a means of getting the co-operative commonwealth. We are not organizing unions in the future or in the past but NOW, and for the purpose of fighting the class struggle.

I believe that there have been most ridiculous exaggerations of the work of the I. W. W. in Pennsylvania, and of the French syndicalists. In fact I know this to be the case. At the same time there should be a place in the Socialist Party for those who wish to work through "direct action."

There must be a reorganization of the S. P. That is almost unanimously agreed upon. It must be reorganized into a working-class party, fighting every battle of the workers, all the time, and using every weapon.

I do not like the English policy, but I say frankly it is better than the present S. P. It is doing something, is rousing the antagonism of the capitalists. It is forcing them to fight back. It is vitalizing the class struggle, and I have full faith that out of such a fight will come clarity and revolutionary action, without regard to programs or platforms or even designing political leaders. Here we are dead, repeaters of phrases, and neither politically nor industrially are we feared by the capitalists.

I am sure, from my experience at Toronto, that the trade unionists are as much at sea as we are, and that a SANE revolutionary position would bring them to us almost en masse. You represent an element and a point of view that is needed, greatly needed. You are almost the only person who does represent such a position that could carry weight in a council of war with Socialists and trade unionists.

For this reason I am tremendously anxious that you should give us your help in this crisis. I know your antipathy to Hunter, and

perhaps to Spargo and Hillquit. At the same time they also represent an element that is needed, and greatly needed.

Above all else we **MUST** have the union men. No one has denounced the defects of the A. F. of L. more than I, but I am forced to recognize that **it comes much nearer representing the working class than the S. P.**, and unless we are able to so shape our policy and our organization as to meet the demands and incarnate the position of the workers we will have failed of our mission.

I think that there are several lines of possible immediate change in the S. P. First, its machinery must be simplified. I think this scarcely needs discussion with you. Your practical sense will tell you **that**.

Second, the appeal of the party must be made more directly to the union men. We have appealed through soap box theorists, ignorant of everything, and **have wondered why we reached only the ignorant among the workers.** We must send out men who are themselves union men, who go directly and specifically to the men of their trade and who preach the class struggle as union men understand it with the Socialist explanation.

Third, we must drive from our own ranks the demagogical politicians, who are seeking to raise rebellion against every person whom **they cannot use for their purposes.** The present Executive Committee is more than willing to surrender their position if real workingmen are to take their places. **THEY DO NOT PROPOSE TO SURRENDER TO THOSE WHO HAVE NEVER WORKED SAVE WITH THEIR JAWS,** and who are tearing down every organization to which they belong.

This statement is somewhat incoherent. I have written it amid a mass of interruptions and can only hope to have dimly conveyed some of the things for which I am working. I shall await your reply giving me your idea of the future, and hope that you may bring it in person. If not let us have it at as great a length as possible. There are preparations under way to bring about an internal revolution, and we will need all the brains at our disposal to steer through the shoals before us.

Yours fraternally,

(Signed) A. M. SIMONS.

Immediately upon reading the preceding letter, the editor of the Review addressed to each candidate who had received enough nominations for a position on the N. E. C. to entitle him to a place on the official ballot, and who had not already declined the nomination, the following brief inquiry:

COMRADE:

If elected to the N. E. C., will you favor or oppose merging the Socialist Party into a Labor Party? Please answer at once

for the information of the readers of the International Socialist Review.

Yours for the Revolution,

CHARLES H. KERR.

The following replies are all that have been received from those whose names will appear on the official ballot, several who answered having subsequently declined. Two or three could not be reached for the reason that they were traveling:

W. J. Bell:

Responding to yours of 30th ult., would say that if I were elected to the N. E. C., would oppose merging the Socialist Party into anything but the coming Industrial Democracy.

Tyler, Texas, Dec. 2, 1909.

B. Berlyn:

Yours received, and in reply would say that the Socialist Party is a labor party which in its declaration of Principles, Platforms and its Immediate Demands, voice the needs and aspirations of the militant working class in their every day struggle. The Socialist Party should always be with the workers, not to dictate to them how they shall go about it but pointing out to them the intimate relation of their struggles for economic betterment and political action. This can be done best by telling the truth without crazy exaggeration. The party should avoid taking sides in the internal squabbles that from time to time arise in economic organizations.

I believe that the party should steer clear of middle class demands and emphasize the class struggle on the political field.

Chicago, Dec. 7th, 1909.

James H. Brower:

If elected to the N. E. C. I shall **fight**, if necessary, to hold the Socialist Party true to the glorious traditions of its past, both in this and other lands. That half-baked evolvers will organize labor parties here and there I have no doubt—but, that the only revolutionary force in the politics of this nation (the Socialist Party) should, in a moment of weakness, aggravated by an acknowledged need of a bit of house cleaning, be carried off its feet, and thrown into the pot in which a hundred half-thought-out reforms will be mixed, I deny.

Today—yesterday—and for many moons behind, I have been eaten with a desire to take a good club and go after some of the gentlemen who insist that our party is going to the devil. If I were orthodox I'd say the devil is after the party.

Joliet, Ill., Dec. 1st., 1909.

Victor L. Berger:

I shall **oppose** the merging of the Socialist Party into a "labor" party.

I have always stood for a labor movement with two arms—the economic arm, which is the trades union,—and the political arm, which is the Socialist party. Both arms belong to the same body. Both arms must work in perfect harmony and **help** each other, but each arm is to do its own work and shall not interfere with the other's business.

I do not propose to turn the trades union into a political machine, nor the Socialist Party into a trades union. However, I want the trades union to be a part of the same movement as the political party and vice versa. We want every trade unionist we can get to join the Socialist Party and every Socialist who is eligible to join his economic organization—thus we unite both activities in every worker.

This is the "Wisconsin Idea."

Milwaukee, Wis., Dec. 2, 1909.

O. F. Branstetter:

I have not yet decided whether or not I will accept the nomination for N. E. C., but in case I do so and am elected I can say most emphatically that I will oppose such a merger as suggested. One does not always know what his ideas will be at a future date, but the change in my ideas and opinions would have to amount to a complete revolution before I could believe in either the desirability or advisability of such a course.

Oklahoma City, Okla., Dec. 2, 1909.

James F. Carey:

You ask "If elected to the N. E. C. will you favor or oppose merging the Socialist Party into a Labor Party?" I will oppose. Permit me to say that up to receipt of your letter I had not decided to be a candidate for the N. E. C. but I am beginning to gather from several sources that there is going to be something like that proposed. I do not believe however that there is the slightest danger of an effort in that direction succeeding. If on the other hand there is considerable strength behind that movement, there will be an "illegant ruction" and I am almost persuaded to try and get in it. I have a few days of grace left to decide, but, however I may decide about being a candidate, and if I run, whether elected or not, I am opposed.

Boston, Mass., Dec. 2, 1909.

John M. Collins:

In answer to whether I would be in favor of merging the Socialist Party into a labor party. If elected to the N. E. C. I don't consider that question very logical as you have not stated in your letter what kind of a party it is now. I will be better able to answer.

Chicago, Ill., Dec. 2, 1909.

E. E. Carr:

The question is peculiar, for there is no labor party to merge into. If there were, whether elected to the N. E. C. or not, I would oppose the N. E. C. taking any steps in such a matter, except to refer the subject to party conventions, or to the whole membership by referendum. Whatever is done with regard to such an important issue should be done only after long and careful discussion by the whole party, not merely by a committee.

If the Socialist Party should unite with the labor unions in a new political party, I would urgently favor maintaining the Socialist party as a clear-cut, revolutionary propaganda society and for the purpose of nominating candidates where the labor party for any reason put none forward. This would constantly tend to make the labor party more truly revolutionary and to keep it so.

If a labor party were formed, it must, from the nature of the case, stand on the class struggle whether it recognized the fact or not, and would therefore be in effect a Socialist Party. It would be branded and fought as such by the capitalist organizations, and would sooner or later, according to the precedent established in the case of the British Labor Party, be recognized by the International Socialist Bureau. If such a party were formed, supported generally by the great labor unions, it would probably draw the Socialist Party members into it. And while I would greatly regret to see the Socialist Party fail of rising to political power, I would feel impelled to favor the labor party as our political avenue of expression, while holding to the Socialist Party for special propaganda work. The Socialists in the Labor party would soon dominate it and guide it into a truly revolutionary position according to current economic development, as the I. L. P. of England is affecting the Labor Party there.

Chicago, Ill., Dec. 2, 1909.

Stanley J. Clark:

The Socialist Party should be the political expression of the material interest of the working class. I am opposed to merging into any other party.

Huntington, Ark. Dec. 8, 1909.

Louis Duche:

I emphatically oppose the merging of a Socialist Party into a Labor Party. A Labor Party will mean a few fat jobs for Gompers and those alleged Socialists and nothing for the proletariat and the revolution. The function of a political party, for the present at least, is educational and destructive. Let us keep it in that channel as near as possible. Vote-getting should be secondary.

East Palestine, Ohio, Dec. 8, 1909.

George H. Goebel:

Your question as to merging the Socialist Party into a labor party just caught up to me.

Would say without waste of words that I have always been and am opposed to merging the Socialist Party into any party, no matter what its name or character. In replying to this question, however, I want it distinctly understood I do not recognize the right of the N. E. C. to decide such questions, the membership through convention or referendum in my judgment being the sole authority. If elected to the N. E. C. I shall insist on that course of action, concerning matters of principles or tactics, the N. E. C., in my opinion, having solely the work of better propaganda and organization. When the membership get that view we will begin to elect to the N. E. C. comrades who understand organizing and executive work, and who know party conditions, rather than for their ability to split hairs, and philosophize over the philosophy of philosophy.

Newark, N. J., Dec. 6, 1909.

Robert Hunter:

In answer to your question I beg to say that so far as I know there is no immediate likelihood of a labor party. Consequently it seems to me the question put is entirely speculative. Furthermore, in case a labor party was formed, the entire party membership, in my opinion, would have to decide by referendum vote what attitude the Socialist Party should take. The seven members of the National Executive Committee have no more power in such matters than any other seven members of the party.

Nevertheless, I realize that organized labor is being forced to the wall and that, during the next few years, it may take steps toward forming a labor party. Many comrades see that possibility and it is but right that they should seek to know the attitude of those who may occupy official positions in the party in regard to that matter.

As a Socialist I should want to wait until I see what kind of a

labor party was formed. In any case I doubt if I should think it advisable for the Socialist Party to **merge itself** with any other organization. Certainly before taking any action a Socialist would want to have the labor party declare itself distinctly on the following lines. It would have to be a truly class-conscious labor party. It would have to declare itself absolutely opposed to any fusion or alliance with capitalist parties. It would have to place in its constitution a declaration that any members of the labor party that advocated the election of any capitalist candidate would thereby be excluded from the labor party. In other words, I, as a Socialist, would want to know whether or not the labor party intended to be absolutely independent and to carry out actually on the political field the class struggle.

If **such** a party were formed no doubt all of us would want the Socialist Party to confer with the labor party at least in regard to candidates so that these two working class organizations would not be forced into a bitter, fratricidal warfare, thereby cutting each others' throats.

I believe in common with most other Marxian Socialists in every country that we want to help the working class to find its feet, to battle politically and industrially for its emancipation, but in my opinion we ought to keep our organization intact. We ought to continue to carry on our propaganda, to conduct our newspapers and forward Socialism with the same spirit and enthusiasm as now. Briefly, my opinion is precisely that so well expressed by Frederic Engels many years ago: "I think all our practice has shown that it is possible to work along with the general movement of the working class at every one of its stages without **giving up or hiding our own distinct position and even organization.**"

Highland Farm, Noroton Heights, Conn.

Morris Hillquit:

Your question is purely academic. We have no Labor Party in this country, and, as far as I know, there are no present indications of a movement to create one. Should our trade unions, contrary to general expectations, constitute themselves into a political party within the near future, the Socialist Party will have to determine its attitude towards it in national convention or by referendum vote. The incoming National Executive Committee will have no power to formulate the policy of the party, and it matters little whether the members of the committee as such "favor" or "oppose" a merger of the Socialist Party with a hypothetical Labor Party.

My personal views on the general question are, briefly stated, as

follows: The main object of the Socialist Party is to organize the workingmen of this country into a class-conscious, independent political party. If our movement is to succeed at all, this object must be accomplished, and I am not worrying very much about the manner and form of the accomplishment. It would, of course, be preferable to organize the working class of America within the Socialist Party: this would ensure permanent soundness and clearness of the movement. If, however, the organized workers of the country, independent of our desires and theories, should form a party of their own, a bona-fide and uncompromising workingclass political party on a national scale, I believe the logical thing for our party to do, would be to co-operate with such party. I would not favor a complete merger in any case, because as long as the assumed Labor Party would not be thoroughly Socialistic, our party would still have an important mission to perform, even more so than now. On the other hand, if such Labor Party should proceed on the theory of class-harmony, enter into alliances with middle-class reform movements, and be reactionary in its general character, I would consider it very unwise on the part of our party to abandon or even to modify our policy of independent Socialist politics. But all this is to-day mere speculation. What confronts us to-day is not a political Labor Party, but a mass of workingmen, organized and unorganized, supporting the capitalist parties, and, whatever the future may hold in store for us, our present duty is to wean these workers from the politics of their masters, to instill in them a spirit of class-consciousness and an appreciation of the Socialist philosophy. This work should be done with far greater intensity, regularity and planfulness than heretofore, and this policy I will favor, if re-elected as a member of the National Executive Committee.

New York City.

Morris Kaplan:

Answering the above I am against the compromise of our fundamentals. The Socialist movement is the bona-fide class conscious organized expression of the Exploited Class in Society. It—the Socialist Party on the political field—is the Labor Party. Am not against conventions or discussions being held with the A. F. of L. or other economic labor organizations—conscious or otherwise of their class interest. Our movement at the present hour is in a decidedly chaotic condition and needs a change of policy and tactics. We have worshipped too long at the shrine of Craft-Unionism. It is time to change about.

What I would favor if elected on the National Executive Board:

Abolition of State Autonomy and Centralized National Dictum. Organization of wage-workers along lines of industrial unionism. National control and custodianship of daily English organs. Abolition of programmistic reforms from national platform. Unity of all Socialist forces.

Duluth, Minn.

James H. Maurer:

In your letter of Nov. 30th you ask: "If I were elected to the N. E. C. would I favor or oppose merging the Socialist Party into a labor party?"

The manner in which this question is asked is so very indefinite that I hardly know how to answer you.

The Socialist Party as it stands today is the party of the working class, therefore it is impossible to merge it into something that it already is. Or is it merely the object to change the name and take out of the movement the sting as Gompers put it?

Well, in this part of the country the word socialist has no terrors for any one excepting the parasites.

You may call the socialist movement by any other name and the other name will be hated as much by the exploiting class as they fear the word socialist now. The name is of little consequence. It's the principles of a party they like or fear, and the Socialist movement whose mission it is to wipe out this parasitical class, would become useless if it attempted to make itself inoffensive to the enemy.

Perhaps there are those who would like to change the Socialist Party into a simple, yet pure reward-your-friends-and-punish-your-enemies" Labor Party, built upon a sugar-coated platform. Meaningless enough so as to gain the support of the capitalist class and its press; broad enough to admit every lobster-brained labor skate, civic federation, manufacturers' association, Taft, Van Cleve, Bryan, Post, etc.

The Socialist Party may and will, as conditions warrant, change its tactics, but the scientific principles of socialism, never.

The question you ask is very much out of order, as I see it, because the N. E. C. does not have the power to do any merging. The committee might favor the merging idea, but what could they do if the rank and file said otherwise? And should a majority of the party membership favor the merging of the Socialist Party and vote for a Keir Hardie Labor Party, they could not do it because socialism is socialism and even the socialist can not change it. No matter what mistakes some may make, you will find me fighting for Socialism in the Socialist Party.

No compromise, no political trading, is my warning to the American Socialist.

Reading, Pa., Dec. 3rd, 1909.

Thomas J. Morgan:

In reply to yours, please mark me NO.

Chicago, Ill., Dec. 2, 1909.

Sumner W. Rose:

I will certainly oppose any proposition to go into the "merger" business except on the basis of merging labor into the Socialist Party.

I am a Trade Unionist myself, but to my mind the day of so-called labor parties is past. The old party politicians, who have always been in our ranks to mislead and enthrall us, have made those names, honorable as they should be, smell of suspicion of a concealed trap.

"Merger?" Never! except a merger into the Socialist Party. I have steam up, the engine oiled and a straight track off before me and I will not assist in any side tracking maneuvers.

Biloxi, Miss., Dec. 10, 1909.

J. W. Slayton:

Your inquiry of Nov. 30th relative to my attitude in the matter of "merging the Socialist Party into a Labor Party," if elected to the N. E. C., just at hand. Just why this question is asked, I am somewhat at a loss to know, but taking it as it is asked—without details or reasons—I answer NO.

I do not mean by this that it is impossible to form a labor party that will stand for the emancipation of the laborers—but the article "A" is too indefinite; and, since I am opposed to all appearance even of compromise, fusion, or political trading, I shall oppose all fusion, or "merging" until I am at least convinced that the fusion won't mean confusion—or the **merging, submerging.**

By merging, we **might** get millions of votes—but what kind, what would they really represent; 10,000,000 votes backed up with **reason**, conscious reason, would be great for good, but without—calamity. By merging we might elect some—in fact many—officers, but what then? Would they be representatives of and for socialism?

I recall the thousands of reasons advanced in favor of the Populist Party merging with the Democratic Party. The result is history. I must be convinced that the Socialist Party is not making, nor can be made to make, for the emancipation of the working class before

I shall favor any other name or alliance. We may have to amend, alter or abolish many things; I think we will. What of it? If we can't do that as it should be done in and for the movement, what will we do after we merge? Again I say NO; at least till I get more light—but it must be light, not glitter.

McKeesport, Pa., Dec. 2, 1909.

John Spargo:

In reply to the above question I will say that (1) I have not yet decided to accept nomination for re-election to the National Executive Committee; (2) I do not see how, under our constitution, the National Executive Committee could merge the party into any other party, "Labor" or otherwise; (3) I do not want a Labor Party, but desire to have the Socialist Party establish itself as the real party of labor; (4) I am inclined to believe that forces now at work will compel the organized workers of America to adopt political action, quite independent of all capitalist ties, and in the event of such a development taking place I believe that it would be the duty of the Socialist Party (note that I say "the Party") to make an attempt at least to co-operate with it rather than to fight it.

Yonkers, New York.

J. E. Snyder:

As far as I know the Socialist Party is a "Labor Party"; a class conscious organization.

It takes in all the producers of the world and all the thinkers, such as you and Marx, Engels and Debs and Warren. I am not in favor of fusion or compromise with a Gompers or a Bryan reform movement.

No fusion. No political trading. No compromise. I never owned any property and yet I have a college education. Please, am I a working man or not?

Girard, Kans., Dec. 2, 1909.

Fred'k. G. Strickland:

I am certainly opposed to your electioneering within the Socialist Party with a privately owned press at your beck and call. It is about the worst case of the "intellectual" that we have in our ranks.

Anderson, Ind., Dec. 1, 1909.

Carl D. Thompson:

In reply to your inquiry will say that I should not favor the merging of the Socialist Party into a labor party. I see no reason

for any such action, and so far as I know there is no prospect of it being proposed. Should it be, I certainly would not favor it.

I feel very strongly that the Socialist Party must always be a working class party and that it should seek especially to draw the **organized** working classes into its ranks. But the party should never be made a mere trades union party, nor on the other hand should the party attempt to dominate or run the trades union movement.

The comrades in Europe seem to have the right tactics in this regard, for the trades unionists and Socialist Party organizations work together in harmony and thus have created a working class movement of tremendous power and efficiency. I should like to see the American Socialist movement develop along the lines of the International Socialist Party.

Milwaukee, Wis., Dec. 7, 1909.

John M. Work:

The Socialist Party is the genuine labor party. The so-called labor and wage-worker parties now existing on the Pacific coast are the sheerest fakes. Any union party likely to be formed in the United States will start out by being rankly opportunistic. The Socialist Party will then have a greater mission than ever, for it will be its province to stand unflinchingly for Socialism and guide the new party into the right channel. When such new party became genuinely socialist in its principles and tactics, it would then be the right course for us to unite with it. But, not until then.

En Route, Dec. 8, 1909.

For letters received too late to be inserted in their regular places, see News and Views Department.

Fifteen Reasons Why a "Labor Party" Is Undesirable.

BY WILLIAM ENGLISH WALLING.

1. The Socialist Party is all that a Labor Party could be and much more besides. The German Social Democratic Party is far more useful to the trade unions than the British "Labor" Party.

2. "Labor" Parties are ready to compromise not only such socialistic principles as they happen to advocate, but even the principles of Labor Unionism, which demand complete independence of political parties supported by employers. In Australia the "Labor" party supports the party of the protectionist employers, in England that of the free trade employers.

3. "Labor" parties either exclude or neglect all those elements of the proletariat which do not happen to belong to the trade unions, *i. e.*, they neglect or subordinate the overwhelming majority of the proletariat.

4. "Labor" parties have, until the present, aroused the hostility of that portion of the proletariat which is not employed at manual labor in industry. That is, they divide the proletariat into two violently hostile and nearly equal portions. The agricultural proletariat and that of the offices, stores, professions and government employments is not only *outside* of but *against* a "Labor" party built up on ancient guild or castle lines.

5. "Labor" parties stand for the principle of conciliation in economic disputes instead of that of the class-struggle. They are, therefore, willing to make certain political compromises in the employers' interest in return for concessions on the economic field.

6. The concessions thus gained by a "Labor" Party are of doubtful value, because a rise in prices may always take away everything that has been gained.

7. *"Labor" parties, in order to gain the adhesion of all trade unionists, tolerate in their members many reactionary actions such as the support of the Catholic Church in politics, the claiming of special legal privileges for certain classes of skilled workers, etc.

8. "Labor" parties, for the reason just mentioned, suppress their most aggressive, socialistic and intelligent members for fear of displeasing the conservative element, until the most valuable of the former feel themselves compelled to devote their main energies to some other organization, generally the Socialist Party.

9. "Labor" parties are untrue even to the principles of conservative

and defensive trade unionism in that they stand not for but against a common international union card; not for but against reciprocity arrangements and the tearing down of tariff barriers that cripple so many industries. Capital is international. "Labor" parties are national.

10. "Labor" parties are untrue even to pure and simple unionism in that they do not favor the only means by which an Empire may be dissolved, the immediate and complete autonomy of all subject races. In this way they share the profits of slavery abroad and rivet their own chains.

11. "Labor" parties sacrifice their own children for the present generation. Interested *exclusively* in "getting something now," they are easily led into ambushes prepared for their children—in spite of a few fine socialistic phrases.

12. In placing so-called "practical" questions in the foreground and slighting questions of principle, "Labor" parties adopt the ethics and philosophy of capitalism, forget all the lessons of history and corrupt the morality and intelligence of the rising generation.

13. In denying the class-struggle and the probability of a revolutionary conflict "Labor" parties do a service to capitalism so great as to obtain its lasting gratitude and the assurance to all "leaders" of that party that should they ever wish to stoop, they are certain of obtaining their reward—at least by public office and the advantage of close relation with the rich. This is social, not financial, corruption, a subtle form that not many can resist.

14. In case a revolutionary movement arose during the existence of such a "Labor" Party, it would either disintegrate and divide into two parties, one of which was opposed to the revolutionists, or else it would be forced to assume a neutral negative and wavering attitude.

15. Finally, a "Labor" Party would impede and postpone the further organization of the less skilled into what have been called *industrial* union, but what are better called *labor* unions, since they imply not the organization of labor in a particular form, but the organization of all labor, the solidarity of labor. But since the majority of the members of a "Labor" Party would be more or less skilled *trade* unionists, their relative power compared with that of the unskilled would be still farther increased and the professed aim even of pure and simple, conservative unionism, namely the *complete* organization of labor, would be indefinitely postponed, with the help perhaps of some future so-called Liberal-Labor government.

A "Labor" Party is the beginning of the end of the very unions that compose it.

A Letter from Debs.

On December 7 Comrade Debs wrote from Boulder, Colorado, to William English Walling as follows:

Dear Walling:

Yours of the 24th and copy of Simons' letter to you of the 19th ult. have been forwarded to me here.

I have had but time to read them hastily, but I AM WITH YOU thoroughly, and thank you for bringing the matter to my attention.

I have been watching the situation closely and especially the tendencies to REACTION to which we are so unalterably opposed. The Socialist Party has already CATERED FAR TOO MUCH to the American Federation of Labor, and there is no doubt that A HALT WILL HAVE TO BE CALLED.

The REVOLUTIONARY character of our party and our movement MUST be preserved in all its integrity AT ALL COST, for if that be compromised, it had better cease to exist.

I have no fear that any great number will be deflected when it comes to a show-down. Wish I could have an hour or two with you. Believe me always,

Yours faithfully,

EUGENE V. DEBS.

P. S.—I am more than gratified with your uncompromising spirit and attitude. If the trimmers had their way, we should degenerate into bourgeois reform. But THEY WILL NOT HAVE THEIR WAY.

(Just as we go to press, a telegram comes advising us that Debs authorizes the publication of this letter and postscript.—Editor.)

The Shame of Spokane

BY ELIZABETH GURLEY FLYNN.



REPRODUCED FROM A MARKED COPY OF THE SPOKESMAN-REVIEW
KINDLY (?) SENT US BY CHIEF OF POLICE SULLIVAN.



ON December 3rd Prosecuting Attorney Pugh thundered, in his attack upon the Industrial Workers of the World: "Let them feel the mailed fist of the law," amply justifying our definition of government as "the slugging committee of the capitalist class." This threat was presumably made in a full appreciation of what a roaring farce "constitution," "justice," "rights" constitute in Spokane—city of the Washington Water Power Company and the employment sharks.

Since last writing for the Review we certainly have individually and collectively felt the mailed fist. Workingmen may come into this fight with respect for and faith in American institutions, but they will come out with every vestige ruthlessly destroyed by official acts and judicial decision. Free speech, free press, free assembly and the right of foreigners to avail themselves of the "benefits of our glorious government" (whatever that is) are non-existent in this western town. Outrage upon outrage has been heaped upon us—men, women and children—until the depths of indignation are reached and words fail to adequately express our intense feeling.



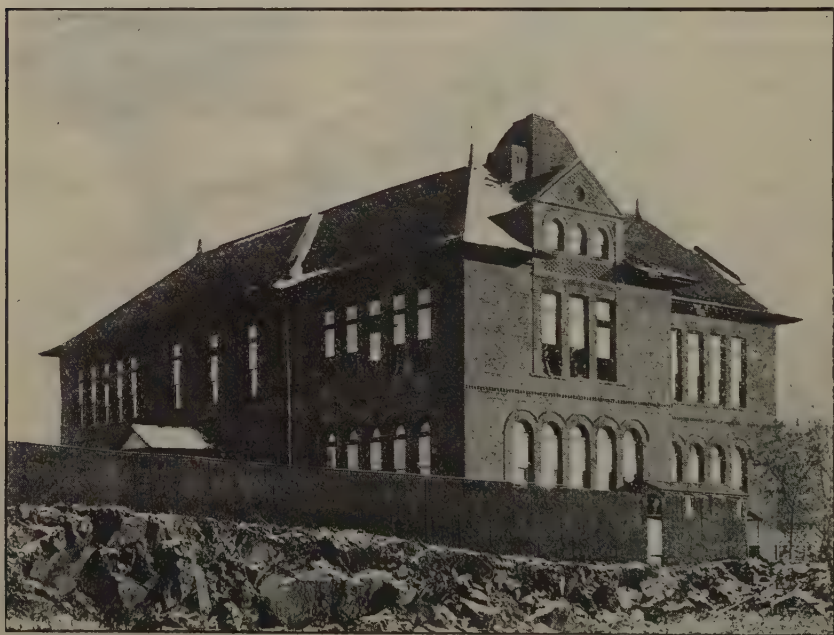
Every day men have gone upon the streets in numbers ranging from six to twenty-five and thirty, have said "Fellow workers" and have been railroaded for thirty days with a hundred dollars fine and costs. Ordered to work on the rock pile, and refusing, they have been given only bread and water in meagre rations. Bread and water for a hundred and thirty days means slow starvation, means legal murder, yet even on Thanksgiving day, the only exception made to the rule was to give smaller portions of more sour bread. The good, christian Chief of Police Sullivan sneeringly remarked, when asked if the turkey and cranberry dinner applied to all: "The I. W. W. will find the water faucet in good order." As a result of this diet the boys have become physical wrecks and are suffering with the scurvy and other foul diseases.



Once a week a day is appointed as "bath day" by the authorities, and the boys are brought from the Franklin School into the city jail in the interest of cleanliness. The newspapers have repeatedly informed the public that the I. W. W. men object to baths, and many a reader has turned away in horror, I suppose, from the dirty hoboes. The gentle and beneficent bath has been described as follows by a man who endured it: "First they strip your clothes off by force, then turn a stream of hot water over your head and shoulders scalding and blinding you at once, and then a stream of

ice cold water." This alternating process would probably be enjoyed as much by the critical editor of the Spokesman-Review as it is by the I. W. W. boys.

As the prisoners were being taken from the school to the jail the I. W. W., Socialists and sympathetic onlookers lined up along the streets and threw sandwiches, fruit and tobacco into the wagon. Officer Bill Shannon, in charge, took a fiendish delight in kicking this food away from the starving rebels. With face and form like an African gorilla, showing no sign of either human compassion or intelligence, he held back the weakened men that they might not catch the



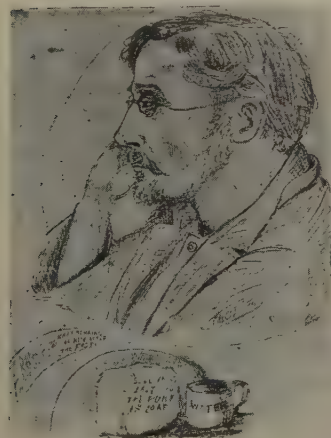
FRANKLIN SCHOOL (JAIL)—FOR THE SUPPRESSION OF FREE SPEECH.

fruit thrown. When one man got a sandwich and held on with hands and teeth, strengthened by desperation, Shannon grabbed him by the throat and choked him till he dropped the food. Mrs. Frenette with others lined up near the school and sang "**The Red Flag**" to encourage the prisoners. She was arrested and tried for disorderly conduct, the Chief of Police and six other officers testifying against her. They swore that she acted as if she were drunk, that she had carried on in a disorderly manner on the streets since this trouble started, and one said she acted like "a lewd woman." Testimony showing that she had stood on a private porch and had taken part in an

orderly meeting was of no avail. She was requested to recite "The Red Flag" and did so with such dramatic force that the Judge was horrified at its treasonable and unpatriotic sentiment. She was sentenced to thirty days, one hundred dollars fine and costs, and Judge Mann recommended to the Prosecuting Attorney that a further charge of participating in an unlawful assemblage—a state charge—be filed against her. She was held for two days in the foul city jail, supplied with only the coarsest and most unpalatable foods and subjected to rigorous cross examination every little while. Bonds were put up by two local Socialists and she was released in a weak and starving condition.



Between three and four hundred men have now been sentenced for speaking on the street. At first the court room in which they were tried was open to the public, and spectators to the number of two hundred could be accommodated. But they didn't show a proper amount of respect for the official lights. One afternoon Attorney Crane was conducting his own case, wherein he was charged with disorderly conduct—speaking from his office window. In cross examining Chief of Police Sullivan he unexpectedly asked: "How much had you been drinking on the day of my arrest?" An irresistible burst of laughter swept over the entire court room, including the Judge and the Chief, but the excuse had now been found and the court room was ordered cleared. A partition was erected over night and the court is now so small that only a bare handful may be admitted. All the other public courts in Spokane that I have yet attended are of like character and the public are practically debarred from these "star chamber" proceedings. For additional precaution a bailiff is placed at the doorway, and I have seen him admit well-dressed lawyers and detectives while refusing to admit the wife of one of the men in jail, gruffly stating: "There are no seats."



The Spokane Chamber of Commerce, after a vituperative address by Mayor Pratt, passed resolutions unanimously de-

nouncing the I. W. W. City Comptroller Fairley has announced that the free-speech fight is taking a thousand dollars a week out of the city treasury. We can well understand the reason for our condemnation. The I. W. W. has unanimously denounced the Chamber of Commerce. We are lined up on different sides of the class war, and the feeling of opposition is mutual.

Members, presumed by the police to be influential, have been arrested as they quietly walked along the street and thrown in jail, sometimes for several days before a charge was filed. For the protection of some of these, writs of *habeas corpus* were demanded of Judge Hinkle. He refused absolutely at first, stating that he did not care to have his court tied up with a lot of labor cases. This flagrant abuse of an old Anglo-Saxon right caused a roar of protest in the public press and throughout the labor organizations. The Judge, after a few hours of serious "thought," recanted and gave two writs, one dealing with a vagrancy case, the other with a disorderly conduct case as tests. The reason for his reversal can probably be found in the fact that fees of four dollars apiece were demanded before the City Clerk would file the papers. This practically means if you have money you can protect yourself before the law; if you have not, you can stay in jail till you rot. Prominent lawyers in the city gave their opinion that such a hold-up was without precedent.

This same Judge Hinkle had made himself infamous in connection with the juvenile cases. Perhaps the most disgraceful affair of many connected with the Spokane free-speech fight was the raid on the hall December 1st, resulting in the arrest of eight little newsboys. Simple on the surface, it is a subtle attempt to undermine the right of a parent to teach a child ideas different from the established order. The children were taken to the chief's office and put through a severe cross examination, after which they were locked up for the night. "The third degree" on youngsters ranging in years from eight to sixteen is quite a credit to the Spokane detective force. Couldn't you get evidence from grown-ups, Captain Burns, throwing light on the "secrets" and "conspiracy" of the I. W. W. without scaring it out of a lot of little boys? "The I. W. W. hall is no fit place for them," said Prosecuting Attorney Pugh of these poor, ragged, little urchins who trudge the streets in their thin little shoes going in and out of saloons and cheap resorts all hours of the day and night. The parents of the boys with that innate respect for law came in fear and trembling to say that they had not sanctioned the children joining. One woman said she was too poor to buy her boy a necktie so let him wear the red one that a man gave him. The parents knew nothing of the I. W.

W. and the little youngsters were rather deserted by the very ones who ought to know what's wrong with conditions that force them to send their little ones on the streets this frosty weather. One by one the youngsters succumbed and promised not to sell the I. W. W. paper or go near the hall. One notable exception was little Joseph Thompson. This little man bore himself with all the moral courage of a revolutionist straight through, refusing to retreat an inch. Over this boy the hardest conflict raged. Evidence was produced to show that Mrs. Thompson was in full accord with the I. W. W. and accompanied the boy to the hall. Judge Hinkle then remarked that, from his personal experience, "the I. W. W. Hall is no fit place for a woman and no good woman frequents it." "Besides," he remarked, of this clean, healthy, little youngster, "he looks dirty and uncared for." Language becomes inadequate and a horsewhip looks reasonable in face of this cowardly, scurrilous statement. If the condition of the judge's red and bloated face is indicative of his mode of life one may safely assume that his reputation as a notorious drunkard is not overdrawn, yet he is the guardian of juvenile morals, the critic of working women!

The next day, the cases being postponed for two days, Mrs. Thompson and her boy came to the court room where Mr. Thompson was expected to be tried. The probation officer called the boy out and his mother followed. He asked what the boy was

doing there and she replied that she was accustomed to taking him with her everywhere she went. The officer retorted: "You are not a fit person to take care of the boy," and ordered the boy to go home.

In 1817 Shelley was deprived of his three children because he was an atheist. Is the time coming in this United States when Socialists are to be deprived of their children because they are Socialists? There is no insult too gross, no trick too low, no act too heartless for these brutal representatives of law and order to resort to. Who is to fix



JOSEPH THOMPSON.

the standard of what constitutes proper care for children and correct ideas to teach them—shyster lawyers, drunken judges and ignorant, illiterate police officers?

But Judge Hinkle overstepped the bounds when he said no good woman frequents the I. W. W. hall. Saturday, December 4th, saw his court room lined with men and women who visit the hall regularly, and many of the women were not in a pleasant frame of mind. The judge blustered around, tried to make amends and then summarily dismissed the juvenile cases. The whole affair, however, is but a straw to show the trend of modern capitalism. It will happen again and we must be prepared.

The conspiracy cases have been increased to eleven within the last month and we are continually reminded by the prosecuting attorney that more are to follow. Fellow-Worker Filigno was given a preliminary hearing before Judge Mann and bound over in the Superior Court under two thousand dollars bond. Fellow-Worker John Pancner was adjudged guilty and sentenced to six months in the county jail. A change of venue was demanded on the strength of the judge's admitted prejudice and was granted for the conspiracy cases, but the street-speaking cases remained in the hands of a judge who stated that "the right to speak is God-given and inalienable" but that he "would sentence any man for disorderly conduct who spoke or attempted to speak." The conspiracy cases are now being tried before Judge Stocker, with progress up to the present as follows: E. J. Foote, James Wilson and James P. Thompson have been sentenced to six months in the county jail and A. E. Cousin to four months. Still to be tried are George Speed, Louis Gatewood, Charles Conner, William Douglass and Elizabeth Gurley Flynn. Appeals have been taken in all cases up to date and as the rest of us will probably get the same sentence appeals will be taken to a higher court and a jury trial.

I am certain the readers of the **Review** will appreciate for themselves the enormity of this injustice.

The Mullen case, one that should be heralded from coast to coast, is as follows: The court room was crowded one day and Officer Shannon was appointed to keep further spectators from coming in. A little fellow by the name of Mullen, not an I. W. W. man, presumably did not understand that the court room was closed and started in. Shannon instead of telling him the circumstances, grabbed him, kicked him and beat him continually down the stairs and through the hallway to the booking office of the jail, where he struck the man's head against the desk. The business in the court room was completely interrupted for at least ten minutes while the man's shrieks and agonized cries for mercy rang through the building. The judge suavely thanked

the spectators for their orderly behavior during "the disturbance." Mullen was kept in jail for three or four days, probably that he might recover his normal looks, and then was tried with the result that he was sentenced to thirty days, one hundred dollars fine and costs, in spite of the fact that four non-partisan witnesses testified to the man's quiet behavior and Officer Shannon's intense brutality.

Shannon is an old man on the force, has a reputation for being "a tough proposition" and is now so near his time for retirement that no matter what he does he will be retained on the force that he may draw his pension.

That such inhuman conduct is not uncommon among the police of Spokane is shown by the attack of Officer Meyers made upon a harmless drunkard a few weeks ago when he beat him into unconsciousness before a crowd of indignant citizens. Ernest Untermann was a witness to this incident. The citizens complained so strenuously to the Police Commissioner that Meyers was dismissed, but if he had attacked an I. W. W. man he would probably have been given a gold medal.

The Spokesman Review was very much excited over the fact that the I. W. W. "jail birds" insulted the Salvation Army. Of course their indignation turns to unctuous praise when Prosecuting Attorney Pugh designates James Wilson as a coward, a sneak and a liar, trying to whine out of his responsibilities. The Salvation Army has not the courage to continue its street meetings, but must come down to the city jail to talk to starving men who cannot get away. They did not put in an appearance on Thanksgiving day to feed the hungry or give drink to the thirsty, but like the hypocrite in the bible when asked for bread "they offered a stone." The insult was not that the I. W. W. boys howled at them and jeered them out of the place, the insult was that they ever dared to come at all. The Industrial Workers are interested in a live issue of better things for this world. As Mr. Pugh so aptly put it we are a modest aggregation "who, after they win the free-speech fight, intend to come back after the whole works."

Needless to say people who advise us to be contented and humble and look for our reward in heaven are not very popular when we're starving and suffering that we may get a little less hell on earth. If we are, as Mr. Pugh says, "the hoboos, tramps and ne'er-do-wells," then it is up to us to change our status right here and now.

The A. F. of L. Central Labor Council and the Socialist party are working earnestly on the initiative petition and it is progressing splendidly from all reports. The miners of Butte have followed up the action of the Coeur D'Alene district in boycotting Spokane and all her products. Damage suits have piled up against the city, many filed by indignant citi-

zens who were drenched by the hose of the fire department, others filed by members of the I. W. W. who have been assaulted by officers both in and out of jail. Needless to say all of these different activities have their result upon the opinions of the taxpayers and the business men. We can appeal to their pocketbook far more effectually than to their intelligence or sense of justice.

The newspapers have gloated over the fact that the switchmen's strike is helping to cripple the I. W. W. To a certain extent the influx of I. W. W. volunteers is certainly being delayed but the fight can never be lost when starved and beaten men will come out of jail and voluntarily offer to go back that the fight may not be lost. Such courage and endurance as the rebels have shown in this fight is almost beyond the comprehension of the average citizen. Particularly are they surprised at the "non-resistant" attitude, at the self-



OUT ON THE ROCK PILE.

control and splendid discipline under circumstances that would try the average man to desperation.

The hunger strike was called off by the unknown fighting committee for the reason that they felt the I. W. W. boys were practically committing suicide under the surveillance of a police force that were glad to see them do it. In a war there is no sense in doing what the

enemy want you to do. Some of the boys have gone on the rock pile and from now on others will probably go without being considered either traitors or cowards by the organization. The reason is that they can in this way get three square meals a day and fresh air to keep them in good fighting condition. As for work that will be rather a minus quantity, a sort of graceful shifting, of shovel or pick from one hand to the other.

This fight is on to the bitter end. It will never be settled for us until it is settled right. They may send us all to jail, but that will not stop the agitation for free speech. They may deport the I. W. W. men but the battle will not be crushed. Let sympathizers on the outside help to spread the news of this brutal conflict and express their sympathy in the coin of the realm. The great need of the hour is financial assistance. Readers of the Review are invited to contribute their share.

★ ★ ★
Within the capitalist system all methods for raising the social productiveness of labor are brought about at the cost of the individual laborer; all means for the development of production transform themselves into means of domination over, and exploitation of the producers; they mutilate the laborer into a fragment of a man, degrade him to the level of an appendage of a machine, destroy every remnant of charm in his work and turn it into a hated toil. * * * They distort the conditions under which he works, subject him during the labor-process to a despotism the more hateful for its meanness; they transform his life-time into working-time and drag his wife and child beneath the wheels of the Juggernaut of capital.—Karl Marx, in Vol. I of Capital.
★ ★ ★

The Strike of the Singers of the Shirt

By ROSE STRUNSKY.



THE Song of the Shirt in chorus! The fact is momentous. The lyric becomes an epic. The plaint becomes a war-song. It becomes a man song.

It is historic. The singer has come out of the garret. She has dropped her needle and bends over her machine in the crowded tenement of a shopkeeper or in the loft of a manufacturer. There are rows upon rows of machines next



MARCH OF THE 40,000. SHIRT-WAIST STRIKERS.

to her, and she sings the Song of the Shirt in chorus. It is the death of the woman. It is the birth of the sexless laborer.

As woman she was in the field of labor as man's scab. She under-

bid him. She was an accident in the field—the stones to be picked up for loading the sling of the capitalist.

That this most finely developed industrial country should be the first to turn woman into the laborer was historically logical and to be foreseen, and now this great dramatic and vital birth has happened—happened by the new Singers of the Shirt; by the general strike of the forty thousand shirt-waist makers of New York, which began on November 23rd.

This new-born laborer, this woman *per se* of yesterday, has taken the slug-horn to her lips and called out her armies upon that battle-field where she had been but a tool these hundred years of industrial transition, and, stern-eyed and intense, has made her first charge against the enemy. The act is impressive and significant and has the beauty which comes with a noble growth and the sadness which accompanies beauty and growth. The outbreak was strong and unexpected though for years the foundations of it were laid by quiet propaganda as well as economic necessity.

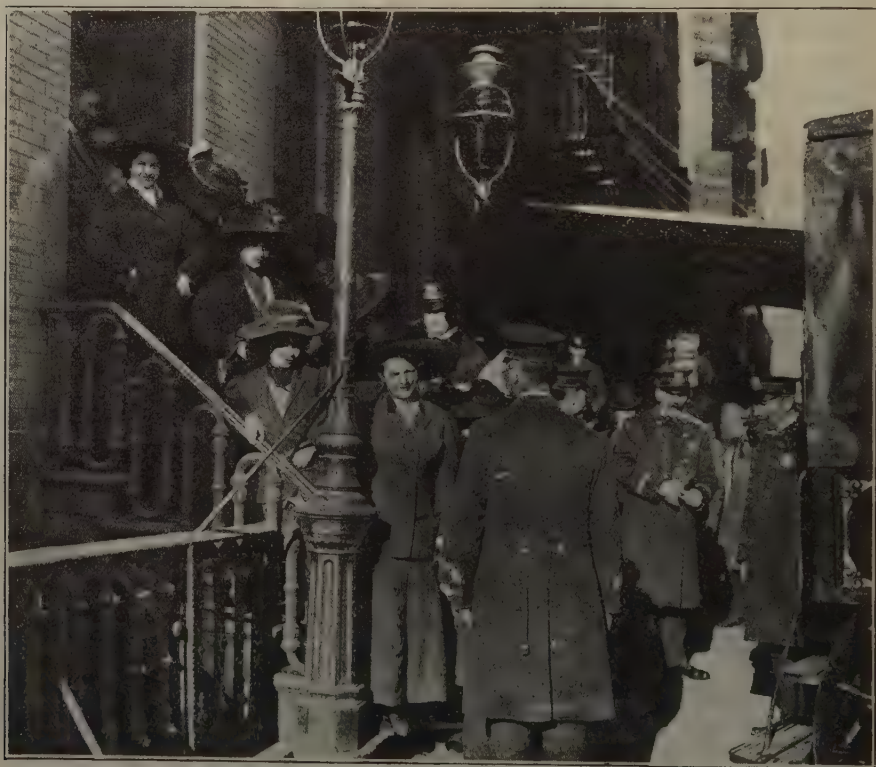
The necessity for organization had been realized by the men almost as soon as the industrial revolution took place. The great difficulty was to make the women see it also now that they had entered upon the field; and to the shame of the men laborers may it be said that they did little to help their sisters realize the necessity and advantages of union. They were blinded by a short-sighted jealousy; they did not seem to realize that they belonged to the same class and that if kept divided, it would be as unfortunate for the men as for the women themselves.

The first conscious effort to organize the women in America was made in 1903, when Miss Mary K. O'Sullivan and William English Walling formed the nucleus of an organization, which was called the Woman's Trade Union League. A meeting was held during a convention of the American Federation of Labor, and several officers of that organization were induced to attend, in order to aid and give their support. The League, after passing through the hardships of its formative period, succeeded in establishing itself on a firm basis and has proven of great aid in spreading unionism. Already it controls ten thousand organized women, but its seed has fallen farther than its members themselves knew, as was shown by the response of the shirt-waist makers to go out on the general strike, the majority of them being unorganized.

The League led the six months' strike of the cotton operatives in Fall River, Massachusetts, and worked in behalf of the striking laundry workers of Troy; it took up the bakers' strike of this city and now, like a careful mother, is tenderly watching and caring for this first large battle of the women workers on the field of labor.

The cause of the general strike was the unrest in the shirt-waist

making industry. In September the Triangle Shirt Waist factory struck. A system of sub-contracting, which nearly all the shops have, was going on there with great abuses. The employer hired a man for twenty dollars a week, who in turn contracted shirt-waist makers at any price he could get them for, and so squeezing the wage down to as low as four and five dollars a week. The girls worked from eight in the morning to nine in the evening four times a week and half a day on Sunday. Strange to say, the strike in this factory was caused by the sub-contractor him-



ARRESTING THE GIRL STRIKERS FOR PICKETING.

self. He quarreled with the employer, and in leaving the place, he turned to the girls and told them to follow him. They left their machines and went out. The next day they were urged to come back, but they were then laid off for a month on the pretext of lack of work, while the employers advertised in the Italian, Jewish and English papers for shirt-waist makers.

The strike was on. When the former employees went to the shop to inform the girls who were answering the advertisements that the shop was on strike, they were arrested, mistreated and fined by the courts.

The enemy, too, recognized that the question of sex was gone, that she was no longer woman but laborer, and that she was to be fought in the same way as the man laborer.

From September to October 103 arrests were made for picketing, the girls all being fined. Thugs were immediately employed to guard the scabs and policemen to help the thugs.

As the conditions in other shops were no better than in this Triangle Shirt-Waist factory, the unrest among the workers grew. On November 23rd it was decided to call mass meetings to discuss conditions. Four halls were crowded. The largest, which was Cooper Union, was presided over by the Woman's Trade Union League and had among its speakers Mr. Gompers. Gompers made a characteristic speech to them:

"I have never declared for a strike in all my life," he said. "I have done my best to prevent strikes, but there comes a time when not to strike rivets the chains on our wrists."

The shirt-waist makers listened to many more such speeches. They had come to the meeting heavy-hearted and depressed. It meant suffering to continue work under their conditions, and it meant suffering to fight. Would they succeed in the fight? Could they succeed? Would the rest of the girls, for whom it was so difficult to grasp the advantages of solidarity, join in a general strike? Did they have the strength of character, the nobility of purpose?

The speakers, one after the other, argued about the possibilities of victory and discussed the methods of employers. In the midst of these speeches Clara Lemlich, a dark, pale little girl of about 20, raised her hand to show her desire to speak. She was called upon, and willing hands lifted her on the platform. With the simplicity of genius she said: "I have listened to all the speakers, and I have no patience for talk. I am one who feels and suffers from the things pictured. I move that we go on a general strike."

It was the expression of the heart of the audience. It jumped to its feet and cheered approval. It was for this they had come together, these thousands of isolated girls. Unknown to themselves they had come to unite into one army for the benefit of all. They had come to declare war.

A committee of fifteen was appointed to go to the other halls to announce the decision of the Cooper Union meeting. As the committee entered each well-packed hall and told of the call to arms, it was applauded and cheered for many minutes.

The next day, when the girls in the shops were informed of the general strike, they rose without a question, left their work and went out. Six hundred shops joined the union in a few days. The spontaneous and enthusiastic response to the call came as a great surprise to every one. None had guessed of this latent fire—neither the leaders, nor the

Woman's Trade Union League, nor the girls themselves. None knew that it was there. In forty-eight hours it reached forty thousand girls. Their demands were for the recognition of the union, a twenty per cent. increase in their wages and shorter hours—a fifty-two hour working week.

Before the strike was several hours old twenty shops settled and five hundred girls won. The next day forty-one shops settled and seven thousand girls returned to work and each day brings bosses who are willing to settle on union terms.

Morning, afternoon and evening every hall on the East Side and the large halls in the city that could be gotten, were filled with strikers and sympathizers, to discuss ways and means and to encourage each other in the struggle.

The war was on, and the chivalrous instincts in the old veterans of the class struggle came out. Besides the Socialists and the Women's Trade Union League, the United Hebrew Workers sent out committees to help these new militants; the American Federation of Labor offered Mr. Mitchell to give his aid and advice, and Solomon Shindler, the Gompers of the East Side, has directed their forces from the very beginning.

It is hard to tell here if it would not have been better to have shown less chivalry and to have let this new army fight its own battle. It is a question in some minds whether the fact that the girls were permitted to sign up with their bosses, while the other three-fourths of their comrades were still on strike, was good tactics for the girls who have returned to work are forced, perhaps, to scab on their sisters by doing the work of the manufacturers who are still on strike.

Yet this is the time-honored method in strikes and can be used to advantage in a long strike as in the case of the strike now on in Sweden, where more than half the workers were permitted to go back to work by the unions so as to support the other half in their fight with the bosses. Moreover, in the shirt-waist making industry, each shop has its own kind of work and therefore there can be no uniform price. Since each shop has to be settled with differently, it is almost impossible to keep the general strike in force.

If labor is showing its solidarity, so is capital protecting its interests. A shirt-waist manufacturers' association has already been formed and it threatens to be obstinate and obdurate. Mr. Mitchell and Mr. Hymans, of the National Association of Clothiers, have suggested arbitration. They proposed that two men be elected by the strikers and two by the shirt-waist manufacturers, who in turn are to elect two others; and that this committee of six should arbitrate. But the one thing they were firm about was that the strikers would listen to no arbitration if the union were not to be recognized. So far the Shirt-Waist Makers' Association has not

responded to this letter although the strikers have elected their two men, who are Mitchell and Hillquit.*

The first hours of success are now followed by long days of obdurate waiting and fighting. Of course the whole industry is not called out and the manufacturers are sending their goods to be finished in neighboring cities. Still there is no doubt that, with the aid of the great sympathy which the girls have won for themselves among the whole population, they would be victorious in the long run did they have the wherewithal to carry on this fight. Most of them have families to support and two weeks of strike leaves them penniless. The strike committee has already had to buy bread for many of them. Were the union older, or could they expect much support from other unions, their victory would be certain. As it is, seventeen thousand girls were victorious, as to the twenty-three thousand who are out on strike, we must hope for the best.

A strike is as sexless as a factory, and the laws for the Singers of the Shirt are the same as for the longshoreman and the miner. The employers have the police, thugs and plain-clothes men, the judges and the courts to help them. Against all these the girls pit themselves. Though peaceful picketing is permissible by law, about twenty-five or fifty girls are arrested daily. A boss can point out any one as a striker or charge her with calling "scab," and she is immediately arrested, and roughly handled; then fined by the judge. In the beginning of the strike the fines were from two to three dollars. They are now from five to ten dollars, or three hundred dollars' bail, to keep the peace for three months—which defined, means no picketing at all.

Moreover, we are beginning to hear threats of the workhouse from these worthy dispensers of the law, and several have already been sentenced. "You girls are getting to be a nuisance and a menace to the community," said Magistrate Krotel, of the Essex Market Court, "and I am here to do all in my power to stop this disorder. You are acting inexcusably in attacking the policemen (*sic!*) and the next time you are brought here, I will send you to the workhouse." This conception of order is equal to the Cossacks, which is the order that comes after the healthful use of the knout.

The "Uptown scum" (the proud title which the Woman's Trade Union League has won for itself by its activities among the working women) decided to march with the girls, on December 2nd, to the Mayor

* The latest report is that the shirt-waist manufacturers have appointed their two men, T. H. Hyman and H. T. Callahan and that after a three hours' conference with Mitchell and Hillquit have come to a deadlock. The manufacturers refuse to recognize the union and insist on an open shop, though they are willing to grant increase in wages and shorter hours. The representatives of labor refuse to arbitrate in any other way than on a union basis.

It is reported that the manufacturers have decided to give new instructions to their representatives.—December 11.

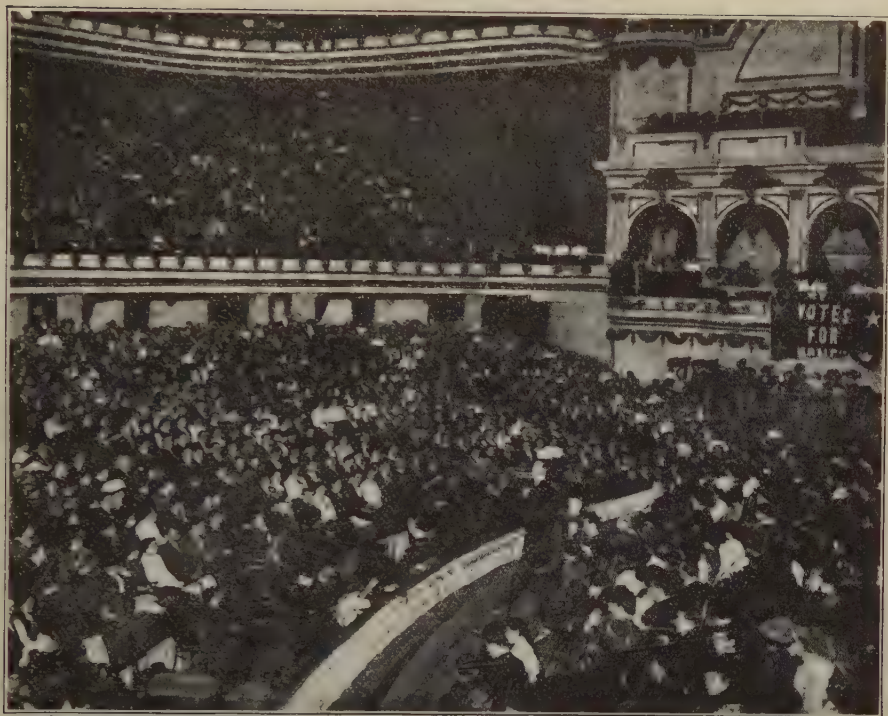
of this city, to inform him of their legal right to picket and to tell him that when they are arrested they are mishandled and often beaten and that the police permit the hired thugs of the employers to assault them without offering protection. Ten thousand girls marched with this delegation through the streets of New York. The sight of these dignified, earnest and intense strikers was inspiring and soul-stirring. Even the Mayor was impressed. He received the committee, he heard their complaint, was astonished at the facts related, which up to now, in the stress of his work, had escaped his notice, and promised to investigate. But over a week has passed, and the fines still go on depleting the precious treasury of the union, which ought to go for bread for the strikers, and it is easily imagined that the treatment of the combined force of unrestrained thugs, Pinkertons and police is not gentle.

If public opinion alone could win a strike, this one would surely be



MARCH TO THE HIPPODROME.

won, for the dramatic qualities and beauty of this first battle of women workers has not failed to escape every class except those who are financially interested in their defeat. The woman's suffrage movement seems to be eager to help them (though it doesn't forget to help itself in the meantime), and Mrs. Belmont, on December 5th, hired the Hippodrome, the largest theatre in the city of New York, for the purpose of having the story of the strikers told and spreading sympathy for them among all classes and to teach them women's suffrage. Mrs. Rose Pastor Stokes and Leonora O'Reilly represented the Socialist and union point of view, and Dr. Anna H. Shaw spoke as a woman suffragist, with the cause of the working girls in her heart. The Colony Club, that most exclusive and fashionable women's club in the city, with Mrs. Egerton Winthrop



MASS MEETING AT THE HIPPODROME.

and Miss Anne Morgan as hostesses, has invited these girls, for the purpose of hearing their story and spreading it to the public.

The fight is alive and keen. There is no quiet sitting down and waiting for results. Not a day passes without some spectacular effect, some fight brilliantly managed; some meeting where enthusiasm is roused and courage strengthened.

Here lies the special interest of this strike. It is the psychology which is displayed in it that is more wonderful than the facts themselves, coldly described. We cannot measure such movements by net results, and the strike will be a success even if it fails; it will be a successful failure. The girls have won for themselves the knowledge of united strength, the consciousness of their united power, and the realization that when the Song of the Shirt is sung in chorus, they drop forever the time-worn slavery of the woman sitting alone with "fingers weary and worn," plying her needle from sunrise to midnight, but that they have their place with their brothers in the fight of Labor. They become comrades and equals on this battlefield.

And so much we know today: That seventeen thousand women have bettered their conditions and that the spirit of solidarity has entered the hearts of forty thousand Singers of the Shirt.

The U. S. Regular Army

BY LOUIS DUCHEZ.



THE United States regular army as a factor with which the revolutionary working class of this country will have to deal with in the future may well be considered. And this especially since the United States government at the present time is doing all in its power to encourage a reverence for militarism. Several prominent military officials are traveling back and forth across the country boosting the military spirit of America, pointing out the opportunities for young men in the regular army and urging them to enlist. We even see the motion picture trust supported by the government, which furnishes them with large advertising posters—the same as those used in front of recruiting depots—describing the beauties of army life and the honor of a military career. Not only that, but we see the wages of soldiers increased considerably and barrack life in a dozen ways made more agreeable.

The writer wishes to deal with this subject, briefly, from the point of view of one who has served three years in the U. S. regular army, having served with men from every "branch of the service" in several parts of the United States and in Cuba, and receiving an "honorable" discharge with "excellent character" and the remarks, "a reliable man and soldier." (I was a socialist and anti-militarist when I enlisted. Was discharged two years and a half ago.)

In the first place, the rank and file of the "regulars" are proletarian in type and attitude. For the most part they are young men who have traveled much—the type which is considered "wild" in their respective communities. The most of them have worked hard in factories, mines and upon ranches. They have felt the grind of the capitalist system—and they got tired of it. They could see where they were producing wealth for others and getting a mere existence in return. And they could see the same tread-mill struggle ahead of them until the end of their days—and the army offered an outlet. Not only that, but it offered an opportunity to "see the world," the burning desire of the men of the regular army.

The men of the regular army are essentially irreligious and unpatriotic. National patriotism to them, with few exceptions, is a farce. A very common remark among "old men" to new recruits is, "Got

patriotic, did you?" And then to answer themselves by saying, "I guess you were like the rest of us—you got hungry."

Patriotic songs, such as are often sung among high schools boys and girls, have little interest for the "regulars." When they do sing them it is in the spirit of sarcasm and humor. Their favorite songs are those of the tramp and vagrant type.

Not only does the environment of the regular army man tend toward an irreligious and unpatriotic attitude, but his civilian and proletarian training, in contrast with the patriotic forms of the military life, urges



COMRADE DUCHEZ, MOUNTED MESSENGER, CUBA.

a positive conviction. It is for this reason, in a large degree, that in the the socialist movement of America there is such a large percentage of men who have served in the regular army. The act of bearing arms, engendering the fighting spirit in the natures of men who have been trained under the modern machine process, has a tendency to make them revolutionary.

Another trait of the "regular" is his hatred for the militiaman. The militiaman is often spoken of among the "regulars" as a "tin soldier," but the ill-feeling for him is based, in the fact, to a large extent, that the militia is composed, principally, of young men who are clerks and "counter-jumpers," who wear high collars and work cheap, and who have

capitalist minds. The young men employed at manual labor in the large industries have a spirit of hatred for this same type.

Also, the "regular," especially after serving "one hitch" (a term of three years), does not take well to hard work. That is another reason why many of them become rebels after an enlistment in the army. On scores of occasions the writer has seen men of the regular army walk up to young men who were employed at hard work on the streets or in ditches and "bawl them out" because they submitted to slavish conditions.

Of course, these traits of character found in the "regulars" may not mean much to the revolutionary movement of this country, neverthe-



GUARD HOUSE AT FORT DES MOINES, IOWA.

less they indicate a proletarian spirit on the part of the men. The sign is a healthy one, at least.

Now, as to whether the U. S. regulars would turn against us in a fight with the masters, we should not trust them to do anything else. That's part of their business. At any rate, we should carry on our propaganda among them. Already there is much of it being done and the men are being affected. It's not an uncommon thing to find revolutionists in the U. S. regular army.

But there is a more effective way of winning the good will and support of soldiers than that of teaching them it is a crime to shoot down their fellow working men in a struggle. It is that employed by the men at McKees Rocks.

There we know how they were tamed—and even helped the strikers club the scabs that were run out of the plant. The same Cossacks (the Pennsylvania state constabulary is made up of men who have served in the regular army) were on duty at Butler, Pa., and New Castle. In Butler and New Castle they were very hostile to the strikers but at McKees Rocks they became “friendly” to the men—the capitalist press told us that.

One of the Cossacks, a man who served three years in the regular cavalry with the writer, for many months in the same barracks, and who was on “duty” at Butler, then at New Castle and also at McKees Rocks during the worst part of the struggle there, said he admired the “fighting spirit” of the McKees Rocks strikers. He also said he was one of the troopers that helped the strikers club the scabs. The same fellow clubbed the strikers at Butler and New Castle. His love was won by the “ignorant foreigners”—won with a hand spike.

This same Cossack told the writer that if all the working men in Pennsylvania “put on the same front” as the McKees Rocks men did there would be no need for the state constabulary, and he wouldn’t have to do that “dirty work in order to get a living without having to kill himself in a ditch.”

It is the organized power of the workers in the place where that power is exercised that will meet effectively the military power of the master class. It will also win the support and respect of the soldiers as individuals.

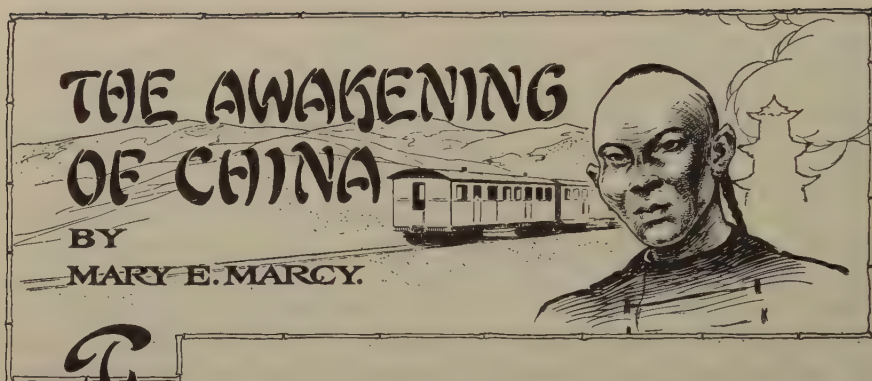
HERCULES, ARISE!

BY KATHARINE RAND STEVENS.

The Power of Riches, like the Hydra dire
That ravaged Lerna by the Aegean Sea,
Renews twofold those heads of infamy
We cut away; they yield to nought but fire,
Such as the Hero kindled in his ire.

Behold our Hydra—fierce Monopoly!
Oh, for an hour, great Hercules, of thee,
To light the Tyrant-Creature’s funeral pyre!

Are all the Heroes dead? Oh, vast and dumb
The stifled, soundless wailing to the skies!
What is it stirs in menace where it lies,
And lights dull fires with fingers crushed and numb?
Lo, there, the Hero-People who arise—
Our Hercules! Behold, the hour is come!



HERE is something very fascinating in the spectacle of a nation numbering nearly one-third of the human race silently and majestically rousing itself from the sleep of ages under the influence of new and powerful revolutionary forces. No other awakening of our time has been one-half so colossal as the introduction of modern

methods of production in China.

Through years of foreign aggression, war and murder, the Open Door Policy has been established and the bloody march of progress—but progress for all that—has gone steadily forward.

Few of us Americans realize the magnitude of the new movements in China, so boastful are we of our own wonderful economic advance at home. It is true that China has been the slowest of the great world powers to accept the new, to apply modern methods, but she has at last aroused herself and is now welcoming—even seeking and establishing—them.

China is larger than all Europe. The United States, Alaska and several Great Britains might be set down within her borders and room still be left for more. Her population numbers over 430,000,000. A single state within her provinces contains a population greater than one-half the entire population of the United States.

Only a few years ago the first steam engine was introduced into China. Even today hundreds of thousands of coolies are employed in carrying small baskets of coal and other commodities to and fro to their various customers in the empire. But slowly and surely the railroads are robbing them of their old means of livelihood, and already along the route of each new railway is left a small army of unemployed.

As yet China is a house divided against itself. The population that possessed fixed employment under the old regime is loud in its denuncia-

tions of the new methods. And in many provinces it is still necessary to maintain a guard at every station to protect the railroads. But the roads are beginning to yield immense profits and the government has set its hand to the plow and will not turn back.

But new avenues of employment are opening up to the Chinese workingmen. The establishment of the great steel mills at Hankow, 700 miles south of Peking, made necessary the employment of over 20,000 "hands," nearly all of whom are Chinese. The same is true in other parts of the empire—the new industries demand men and China is already talking about her industrial centers. The men employed in these steel mills are paid from \$5.00 to \$40.00 a month. The great steel plant occupies 120 acres. The ore used comes from sixty miles down the Yangtze from a solid mountain of iron. Already there are 250,000,000 tons of iron in sight in the companies' iron mines. The particular spot now being used, alone, contains over 150,000,000 tons. The ore is much purer than our own Lake Superior and the Swedish grades. The mines and river boats employ thousands of additional men. And all these men are head and stomach for the new and modern regime. The steel plant is owned by Chinese. Less than a score of foreign specialists are employed in the mills.

A geological specialist makes the claim that one province alone in China would easily be able to supply the coal market of the world for one thousand years.

One of the ancient Chinese superstitions was that the Evil Spirits were only able to pursue the living in a direct uninterrupted straight line. For this reason the roads and streets of China have been built to contain as many crooks and angles as possible. But with modern improvement came the inevitable changes in religious ideas. For the railroads pursue a straight course and prosperity attends them. Railroads have even been built over the ground made sacred by the bones and graves of their ancestors and good alone has come of it.

Not many years ago China was prone to look down upon her Japanese neighbors, but the victory of Japan over Russia has changed all that. That a despised neighbor was able to utterly rout the Russian enemy, whose steady and aggressive encroachments the Chinese had been unable to withstand, has given them food for thought. Furthermore the unbounded enthusiasm of the Japanese soldiers was a source of utter amazement to the Chinese government, for until very recently patriotism among the army of China was a trait unknown.

Fifty years ago the Japanese might have whipped Russia twice over and the Chinese government be still ignorant of that fact. But the aggressive foreigners had brought with them into China the telegraph and

telephone, and events it had formerly taken China many years to learn were immediately communicated to her.

All these things filled the Chinese government with wonder and amazement, and today the telegraph extends from one end of the empire to the other, and with it the telephone. Then came the real newspapers. Today the Imperial Palace (formerly lighted by bean oil lamps) is lighted by electricity. And all over China the people are crying for kerosene. Hence the marvelous trade between China and the Standard Oil Company.

And China is just awakening. Already the railroads have made possible the exportation of many Chinese products. And her export trade is on the increase. And with the exportation of products formerly consumed at home, the cost of living is increasing. Statisticians claim the cost of living in China has increased 18 per cent within the last few years, while wages have not risen to meet it.

With the introduction of improvement machinery and new methods of production and its attendant proletariat we may soon look for a socialist movement in China.

The result of the Russia-Japan war has greatly accelerated the new movement in China and with the introduction of every modern machine in the productive industries that movement is receiving greater momentum.

The Chinese government has decided to emulate Japan. To do this the government needs a patriotic army—an interested people. A mighty revolution in educational ideas is taking place. Books are being published, newspapers are springing up, a growing system of compulsory education is being inaugurated.

Thousands of the young men of China are yearly being sent abroad to study. Perhaps one-half of them attend Japanese colleges. An increasing number come to the United States and a political revolution is taking place also.

The new manufacturers in China are growing in strength and power. They want a new form of government that will give them freer hands in widening the scope of their activities. The old traditional laws, petty viceroys and governors hamper and hinder them on every side.

They have pointed out these things to the Central Government. They have pointed to Germany and England, before whom China still bends an unwilling knee; and to Japan nearer home.

Night schools and day schools have been started in China. In increasing ratio the citizens of the empire are to be educated and the prince regent has announced that within a few years China shall have a constitutional government. This announcement was greeted with enthusiasm all over the empire, and the people as a whole are, for the

first time, taking an interest in the government—a government in which they hope one day to have a share.

The government is not neglecting the study of foreign war tactics. Thousands of Chinese youths are studying at foreign military academies. Han Yang, China, has a military academy of her own, numbering 1,000 students. She also possesses a large smokeless powder factory.

All this, with the promise of a constitutional government and their hatred of the foreign invaders, is arousing a spirit of patriotism among



INTERIOR OF A THIRD CLASS PASSENGER CAR.

the people. And doubtless within a few years China will possess as strong and as enthusiastic an army and navy as Japan.

Big things may soon be expected from China. Already she is producing steel of as high a quality as the best it has taken America long years to attain. Each month finds new industrial plans formulated within her provinces. With her millions of workingmen and her limitless wealth she will speedily take her place among the great manufacturing nations. With these new methods of production she will be able to supply the needs of the whole world. Will she be able to conquer the world markets by underselling Germany and England? The Orient is awakening and before many years' we may look for the modernization of the whole world. Then Capitalism shall have fulfilled its historic mission and we may hope for the new society when the hand of Labor shall reap the fruits she has sown and the workingman shall at last come into his own.

Getting Collective Possession of Industries

BY A. M. STIRTON.



QUESTION that can no longer be ignored in the councils of the Socialist Party is this: "How and by what steps do we propose to take collective possession of industry?"

Time and again have we been told that such questions belong to the future, and it were wise to let the future take care of itself. "The people," it has been urged, "will decide when the time comes."

This wretched sophistry and cowardly side-stepping of a vital question has had, among other evil results, that of postponing the realization of our purposes to a distant and speculative future. "The time" when "the people are to decide" is made to appear so far in the future that no direct steps toward its realization can be taken in the present. Can we wonder that we see the party drifting into a mere advocacy of reform measures and palliatives, not only reflected in our present national platform, but also in the general tone of our party press?

Can we wonder that we fail to reach the industrial workers, the very class on which the realization of our program depends?

Broken fragments of the middle class drift readily into our ranks. We gain recruits in the villages and in the country districts. But in the large industrial centers, in New York, in Philadelphia, in Chicago—in all the large industrial centers—so far from making a satisfying increase relatively to their growth, our vote shows a decided falling off.

The shop mind is eminently practical. The man at the loom and at the forge has to be shown. He listens to our exposition of the beauties of the co-operative commonwealth, but he wants to know "how we are going to get it." The assurance that "the people" will some day "decide" has no argument with him. He wants to hear of a definite and workable plan of action, or he will have none of it. We can't overawe him by quoting Kautsky. He is in no hurry to buy a pig in a bag.

And it is quite impossible to convince him that the mere putting of pieces of paper in a ballot box will solve problems which he finds ourselves side-stepping in our literature and party platforms. "Put the paper in the box and the man will do the rest." He isn't altogether sure

of that. It is so long since he believed in a Santa Claus of any sort, political or otherwise.

Palliatives in the form of "immediate demands," that do not affect him at all or are pushed by other partisans with equal vigor, appeal to him as little. Taxation reform, old age pensions, improved public sanitation, conservation of natural resources, votes for women, exposure of municipal graft—tempting baits; it's a shame he doesn't bite. The Opportunist has piped unto him and he has not danced. The Impossible has mourned unto him and he has not lamented.

With that materialistic, eminently practical shop mind of his he still asks: "How are we going to take possession of all this and run it, even if we do vote for it?" Like Banquo's ghost, that question will not down.

So much so, that our party press is beginning these days to look for a solution, and we certainly hear a variety of suggestions. We are told in the name of the revolution that we must never think of "confiscating" these industries, even if they do represent surplus values exploited from the workers. In the hour of revolutionary victory we must still respect private property in the means of exploitation, and "buy out" the capitalists. At whose valuation, theirs or ours? If at theirs, does the Class Struggle resolve itself into an attempt on our part to make bondholders of profit taking manufacturers? We may be spared our pains. Capitalism itself is doing that for many of them, much to their satisfaction. If at our valuation, wherein is the fact of confiscation altered by a gift on our part arbitrarily determined by ourselves? And what is the logical necessity for that gift if "labor produces all wealth" and is "entitled to all it produces."

But no, we will be told again, sometimes by the same comrades, that we must all get guns and if necessary shoot them out. Especially if they don't submit to the decisions of a socialist ballot, which, at our present rate of progress, bids fair for successes within a few milleniums at least. Whence and by what means are we to get guns? Are the trusts, who now control the output and sale of the necessities of life, powerless to control the output and sale of weapons also? And suppose that we were all armed—and drilled, too, for that matter—what bearing would that have on the concrete task of organizing and managing industry!

Others again have advocated the slow, expensive, and ridiculously wasteful plan of "competing out" the capitalists, through the duplication of existing plants by a socialist political government elected at the ballot box. Mines, for example. The coal, iron and copper in the ground are all held by capitalists, either as individuals or as corporations. We mustn't "confiscate" any of that, but we may "compete out" the mine owners by sinking mines somewhere else. Railroads, too. Those now

in existence can be "competed out" of private hands by running lines parallel with them, incidentally adding to the beauties of the socialist landscape. As a pleasing illustration of the economies of Socialism contrasted with the wicked wastefulness of Capitalism, this plan would be highly effective. Nor need we lack for rails or other equipments, seeing that we can purchase these from the trusts, the majority of whose stockholders are also stockholders in the railroads to be "competed out." Competition; blessed word of the decaying middle class! It is to be the savior of the Revolution also!

Meanwhile the captains of industry, realizing that this program was under way, and seeing their finish determined on, could surely be depended on to continue their activities, and not precipitate a crisis for which we were unprepared, by shutting down the industries in their control before the competing out process was completed. To do so would disarrange all our plans, and we cannot believe that they could be guilty of an act so rude. Especially if we had not yet fully "decided" just what we wanted or how we proposed to get it.

And yet the problem of getting possession is infinitely simple. It is nothing more or less than the problem of getting the workers industrially organized, a task which needs not to be postponed a single hour, but which is now well under way in the hands of the Industrial Workers of the World.

When the workers are once industrially organized so that they are competent to control production and distribution, in that very moment they have possession. They need no further process, either with gun, ballot or bargain. They are actually in possession.

This will be evident to any one who seriously asks himself what is the source of capitalist power. It lies wholly in the disorganization of the working class.

It is not in the laws. The laws may be, and for the most part are, hostile to the working class, but they do not enforce themselves. At most they merely proclaim the will of the ruling class; they supply no energy for making that will effective.

It is not in the soldiery and their accomplices, the police and Pinkertons, who are used to enforce capitalist law and shoot down strikers. When the soldiery and Pinkertons start for the scene of labor troubles they don't walk; they ride on trains. Who operate these trains? Workingmen. Many of them with craft union cards in their pockets. The soldiery do not feed themselves nor supply themselves with clothing, arms, nor ammunition. Who clothe, feed, arm and transport the soldiery to shoot down workingmen on strike? Other workingmen. Why do they do this? Because they are not properly organized. If organized at all, it is in petty craft unions that teach the identity of interests

between capital and labor, and not on broad industrial lines, animated by the spirit of working class solidarity.

When the workers, or even any large number of them, are brought together in one great industrial union, revolutionary to the core, in that very moment the power of the capitalist class is broken. Owing to the fewness of their numbers they can do nothing. They are absolutely helpless. They may cherish their title deeds and fill their safes with parchments yellow with age; an organized working class will neither heed nor care. The actual control of the industries has passed into their hands. And actual control and possession are one and the same thing.

The capitalist class, if they still retain the semblance of political power, may pass laws and issue injunctions. But these laws and injunctions will be about as operative as the edicts of Pharoah deciphered on the pyramids of Egypt. They cannot despatch soldiery to execute their laws, because an organized working class will refuse to arm, clothe, feed or transport them. Indeed the wretched loafers who compose the military organizations will soon desert when food and clothing are no longer forthcoming. Besides, the conditions confronting the capitalist class will not be local, but general throughout the country.

The basis of all power is economic, and with the passing of their economic power, all other power must also pass from the hands of the capitalist class, and as a result the capitalist class itself ceases to be. There is but one thing left for them to do, and that is to go to work at whatever they find themselves best fitted for. Whatever leniency is shown, or allowance made for them because of their lack of skill, will be wholly gratuitous and a matter of generosity on the part of the victorious workers.

The political state must also pass away with the class whose creature it is. Courts and legislatures alike lose their power, and, presently, because of their loss of power, their existence. A complete and radical transformation takes place in the whole social structure. As the disorganization of the workers has been the procuring cause of their enslavement, so also is their organization the procuring cause of their emancipation. The cause is removed, and the effect vanishes with it.

At such a time it would, no doubt, be a considerable convenience to have a political party in power which would be in sympathy with the events transpiring and ratify the acts of the revolutionary proletariat by legislative enactment. As a circumstance tending toward peace and expedition, it would, no doubt, be a convenience to have a congress in power which would declare by legislative act that title had passed from private hands to the collectivity. But this would be by no means indispensable. Whether legalized or not, the thing would have been already

done. The actual control, and therefore possession, of the industries, would be in the hands of the working class by the mere fact of their industrial organization.

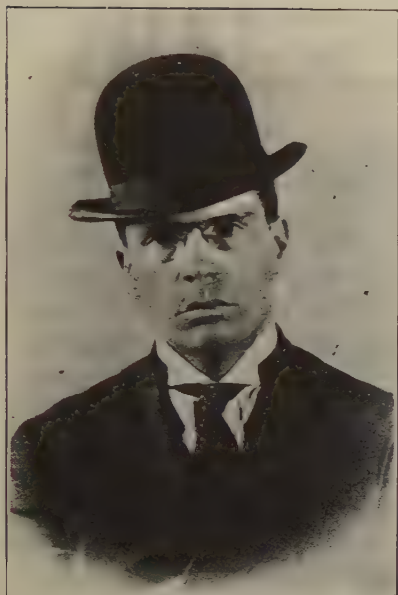
We must by no means imagine that the workers, then embracing the whole population, would be left without legislative machinery by the atrophy of the political state. Quite the contrary. In building up the revolutionary union, and above all, by the skill acquired in the use of the initiative and referendum, they at the same time construct the framework of future industrial administration.

The I. W. W. is thus a two-edged sword that cuts both ways. It takes away the power of the capitalist class, and at the same time confers that power on the worker, and furnishes him with a mechanism for its expression. Such action is, in itself, political. The immediate concession secured through industrial unionism, is permanently builded into the structure of future society. Every blow that is struck for the I. W. W. drives a nail in the coffin of capitalism and at the same time mortises a tenon in the framework of the co-operative commonwealth. Every advantage won is gained for all time.

The Workingmen have no country. We cannot take away from them what they have not got. * * * By freedom is meant * * * free buying and selling—Communist Manifesto.

Broke at Christmas Time

BY JAMES K. COLE.



W'en a feller's flat agin th' wall an'
hezent got a sou,
An' things jes sort o'go con-
trarywise;
He mopes along without a home, a
feelin' hungry, too,
Th' tears er jest wellin' to hiz
eyes;
He empties out hiz pockets in a list-
less sort o' way,
An' can't rake up a solitary
dime;
It's a queerish kin' o' shiver as he
looks inta th' river,
We'n a feller's broke 'long 'bout
Chris'mus time.

Ye feel yerself a outcast, ez thru th'
streets ye roam,
Ye really don't no wa t' say er
do;
An' thoughts jes keep a risin' uv
th' luv'in' ones at home,

A watchin' an' a waitin' there for you;
W'en th' copper roughly shoves ye, an' sez "now move on, jay,
An' don't 'che dish me eny uv yer whine;"
W'y ye jes can't help wishin' in a broken-hearted way,
Thet you wuz dead, 'long 'bout Chris'mus time.

Peepul pass by heedless uv a dirty wretch like you,
Th' wind, it almost takes away yer breath;
Yer nose iz sorely frosted, yer lips er thin an' blue;
It's times like these a feller thinks uv death,
Th' crowds all bump an' push ye, th' sleet drips down yer neck;
Th' 'lectric lights jes seem t' lose ther shine.
Th' snow iz ten times colder an' ye feel jes ten times older,
W'en a feller's broke 'long 'bout Chris'mus time.

We look into a winda all ablaze with light,
See children rompin' roun' a Chris'mus tree,
A suckin' "all day suckers," ther faces shinin' bright;
Th' ole folks joinin' in th' jamboree.
Then ye think of yer own mother, an' th' story thet she told,
'Bout a babe who came to banish sin an' crime;
An' ye wonder if he'd care, if he wuz here, fer sich az you,
W'en a feller's broke 'long 'bout Chris'mus time.



EDITOR'S CHAIR

The Free Speech Fight. For the moment, the storm center of the class-struggle is at Spokane, Wash. Last month the Review published a vivid story of the beginnings of the fight, written by Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, a young woman who has already proved herself one of the most effective speakers and writers in the American revolutionary movement. Now the news comes that she has been arrested, tried by a packed jury of big business men, convicted of criminal conspiracy against the State of Washington, and sentenced to six months' imprisonment. All this for the crime of editing the Industrial Wage-Worker while the regularly chosen editors were in jail, and raising her voice in protest, at public meetings, against the crimes committed in the name of law by the police and judges of Spokane. Further particulars will be found elsewhere in this issue of the Review. Four hundred men and women are now imprisoned for attempting to exercise the right of **free speech** guaranteed by the constitution. These men and women are subjected to all the tortures that a brutal police force can devise; men are beaten senseless and women are treated in such a fashion that the United States government will not allow the story of the outrage to pass through the mails. (But the United States takes no step to restrain or punish the Spokane policemen.) The capitalists of Spokane and their servants in the police department are now trying to railroad to the penitentiary on conspiracy charges eleven members of the Industrial Workers of the World, including Elizabeth Gurley Flynn. Her case is especially outrageous, since she is soon to become a mother. She is now out on bail, pending an appeal to the higher courts. It is of vital importance to the whole working class that the best legal talent be secured to fight this and the other conspiracy cases. Money is needed now, and large sums of money, yet every little will help. Protest meetings should be held everywhere, collections taken up and subscription lists circulated. Don't wait; the money is needed now. It can not be safely sent to Spokane, since no revolutionist in that city can tell how soon he may be thrown into jail and any money found on him confiscated. So the Industrial Workers of the World have appointed a special treasurer

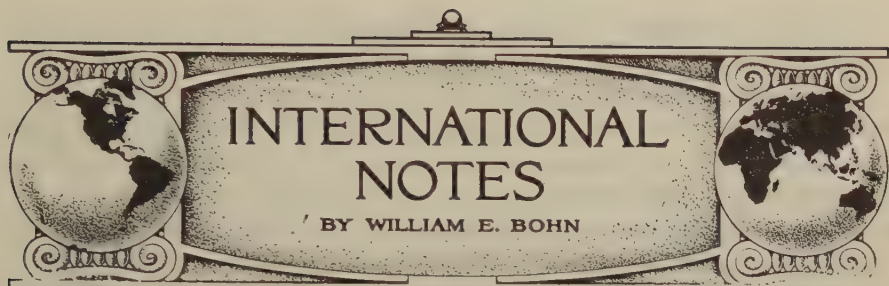
for the relief fund and stationed him just over the Idaho border, a few miles from Spokane. His address is **Fred W. Heslewood, Coeur d'Alene, Idaho**, and his responsibility is vouched for by Vincent St. John, General Secretary-Treasurer of the I. W. W. **Send what you can to Heslewood today.**

A Sickening Story. The fire at the Cherry mine, the inside story of which is told in the first pages of this month's Review, throws a ghastly light over the deadly shams of our capitalist civilization. University economists wisely ask what **incentive** there would be to do good work "under socialism," and some of us have toiled over uninteresting even if accurate answers to the question. But in the name of human life and all that makes it sweet, **what is the incentive now?** It is **Profit!** Profit for the capitalists and the lash of hunger for the workers. Under these incentives, four hundred men have been wantonly killed for the sake of the profit that the mine owners expected to realize out of two extra hours of these men's labor. Most shocking of all, these were **union men, working under the rules of their own union**, who allowed themselves to be slaughtered. The facts given on another page seem to point irresistibly to the conclusion that the officials of the U. M. W. A. had every opportunity to know that the lives of the men in the Cherry mine were endangered by the breaking of laws that had been passed through the efforts of these same union officials or their predecessors. Yet they made no complaint against the mine owners, until the murder had been accomplished. It is easy to understand why the miners at Cherry had made no complaint. It would have meant the speedy loss of their jobs. But how about the officials of the union, what would they have lost? **They would have lost their profitable partnership with the mine owners**, who took and who still take the union dues out of the pay of every miner and turn them over to the union officials. This is the type of union that some of our comrades on the N. E. C. of the Socialist Party think "comes much nearer representing the working class than the S. P." It is indeed true that the rank and file of these unions are representative working men, while the membership of the Socialist party is mixed, only about 70 per cent being industrial wage-workers. But it is also true that the laborers of the craft unions are misrepresented by their officials, and that to bring the Socialist Party closer to the policies desired by these officials would be a backward step that would prove simply suicidal.

The Party Election. For the last two years, the executive policy of the Socialist Party of America has been largely controlled by men who think, no doubt with perfect sincerity, that the interests of the party can best be served by catering to the "leaders" of the American Federation of Labor, who, as it happens, have been strangely unresponsive. We have it on excellent authority that the N. E. C. deliberately excluded the Communist Manifesto from its official list of books recommended for study, on the ground that it was "out of date," while a pamphlet by a Wisconsin comrade entitled "Constructive Socialism" was officially endorsed. We have already commented on the passage of a recent referendum proposed by a member of the N. E. C. which is an appeal for the votes of farm owners who are more concerned about keeping their farms than overthrowing capitalism. Apparently some members of the present executive committee if re-elected will try to make ours a "sane" party standing for the immediate interests of small land owners and the American Federation of Labor, and to "drive from our ranks" those who are "seeking to raise rebellion." Twenty-seven names will appear on the official ballot:

Louis Duchez	B. Berlyn	Edward E. Carr
Otto F. Branstetter	James H. Maurer	John M. Collins
James H. Brower	George H. Goebel	Victor L. Berger
William McDevitt	J. E. Snyder	John M. Work
Lena Morrow Lewis	James F. Carey	Morris Hillquit
W. J. Bell	Thomas J. Morgan	John Spargo
John W. Slayton	Sumner W. Rose	Robert Hunter
Morris Kaplan	F. G. Strickland	Carl D. Thompson
Stanley J. Clark	Adolph F. Germer	A. M. Simons

Fortunately the contest is to be fought out on principles and not personalities. The Review has no friends to reward nor enemies to punish. We should decidedly oppose any motion to expel from party membership any one of the comrades whose names will appear on the ballot. But we believe the good of the party demands the retirement of several members of the present executive board, and the election of comrades who can be counted on positively to act in a way that will help make the Socialist Party a real power for the Revolution. Do not forget that if you wish your vote counted you must number all the names from 1 to 27 in the order of your preference, and that if you omit or duplicate a single number, your ballot can not be counted. If every reader of the Review who is a party member will take care to vote, giving the low numbers to the men he wants to elect and the **high numbers** to those he wants to defeat, the charge that ours is a middle-class party will be disproved.



ENGLAND. The "Socialist Budget." At last the budget fight has reached a climax. For long weeks the English and all those interested in the English have been asking which would prevail, the class-conscious conservatism of the Lords or their political discretion. And now the question is answered. On November 30th the budget was put to its final vote in the upper house, and class-conscious conservatism won. Lloyd-George's measure was rejected by a vote of 350 to 75. Parliament was, of course, promptly prorogued and the members hurried back to their constituencies to prepare for the coming campaign.

In some respects this will be the greatest political battle within the past fifty years of English history. It makes little difference whether the budget is itself the important measure that some suppose it to be. At any rate the discussion of it strikes deep into the fundamental notions of property. And this budget will be the storm-center during the approaching parliamentary campaign. No matter what the outcome may be, thousands will be set to thinking. And Socialists ask nothing better.

In the first place, there is the question as to the status of the House of Lords. The English constitution is nothing but a body of traditions more or less definite, but if these traditions are clear on any point, it is on the matter of the control of the exchequer. Since the 17th century, the budget has been in the hands of the House of Commons. So the recent action of the Lords amounts to a revolution. It is true that the upper house did not show the utter disregard for precedent that some of its members desired. Lord Lansdowne moved that the budget be "suspended" until an appeal could be had to the country. That would have meant that the peers took it upon themselves to dictate a dissolution of Parliament and a new election. This they did not dare to do. But simple rejection in itself means a revolution in the relation of the two houses.

The Liberal talk against the upper house is, however, to be taken with more than a grain of salt. No one who has been watching events in England imagines for an instant that we shall see a really serious attack on the citadel of English conservatism. There will be an election

in January or February, both houses will reassemble, and the budget problem will be taken up again.

What then, from the socialist point of view, is the meaning of this new situation? What is to be gained from it? The only thing that is to be gained is advancement of knowledge. The budget provides, as has often been explained in detail, for an inheritance tax, an income tax, and a tax on the unearned increment of land. The determination to impose such taxes, even though the government was driven to it by dire stress of mounting expenditures for army and navy, indicates an advance in public thinking about property rights. And measure that opens men's eyes to the fact that it is society that creates wealth is sure to make for progress. And this is the best that can be said about the budget. Socialistic it is not, and all the sophistry of Liberals and Conservatives combined cannot make it appear so. On one point in the taxation problem the weight of socialist opinion swings toward a very definite position. In countries where the matter has come up for decision it has been almost uniformly decided that, unless there is some definite purpose to be attained by acting otherwise, it is illogical for socialists to vote in favor of any bourgeois budget, no matter how liberal. Such action is naturally regarded as handing over money to our enemies. As a matter of principle socialists have regarded the endorsement of a bourgeois budget as the surrender of power to the hand of an enemy. No matter how money is raised, the important question always is, how is it to be expended? I gave the figures that bear on this point last month. The measure under discussion is designed to raise some \$550,000,000 annually. Of this immense sum less than \$50,000,000 are to be expended for useful enterprises. The rest? That is to go for army and navy or to pay interest on the debt incurred for the sake of the army and navy in the past.

And this is supposed to be a "socialist" budget! This has roused the enthusiasm of our German and French comrades. For this Keir Hardie and the other Laborites are to stir up the working-class of England.

Just what effect the approaching campaign will have on the alignment of socialist groups in England remains to be seen. The leaders of the Independent Labor Party are for the budget; the Social Democratic Party men are against it. If one is to judge from present appearances, the Labor candidates, when the time comes for the campaign, will stand with the Liberals. In a recent article in *Justice* Victor Grayson puts the problem this way: "I hope I may be permitted to say that a Liberal-Labor alliance was not precisely what the socialist movement started out to accomplish. Mr. Henderson thinks that there will have to be a special national conference of the Labor Party called to consider the matter. I

ask socialists if this will be enough. Can the delegates appointed to attend that conference speak with authority for the rank and file of the Independent Labor Party? And will not the I. L. P. branches want a say on the question of whether or no they will be ignominiously absorbed by their ancient enemy?"

Of course, it is just possible that the attitude of the rank and file of the I. L. P. will force the Labor Party leaders to desert their own Liberal allies. But just now this is a consummation to be wished rather than expected.

SWEDEN. The Great Conflict. The tremendous industrial struggle upon which the gaze of the world has been centered during the past four months is not ended; it has merely entered upon a new phase. Nearly all the men have gone to work. Factories have been reopened. Life has resumed its usual aspect. But all this is merely apparent. Nothing has been settled.

Just at present both sides claim a decisive victory. The Employers' Association, on its side, points to the fact that the men have returned to work on the old terms, that an agreement has been made to go on for a year without any definite settlement of the problems that have been raised. The men, on the other hand, have won the point they struck for. It will be recalled that on July 28 and August 2 about 80,000 men were locked out by the Employers' Association. This was a final attempt to break up the unions. In answer the central committee of the unions called out over 300,000 men. The strike was called, then, in answer to a lock-out. On November 13 the lock-out was formally called off. The men were taken back unconditionally. So the men, too, claim the victory; they have won the thing they struggled for.

But disputing about laurels is worse than useless. The employers have been using every means to force the men into signing long-time contracts. In this they have failed. Neither side is bound to keep the peace for any great length of time. Another actual strike may break out in the near future.

But whether this occurs or not, the fight is certain to be kept up on the political field. The government has all along taken the part of the employers. To be sure public opinion has forced it to deal more and more fairly with the men. But time and time again the official arbitrators have acted merely as the agents of the capitalists. Sweden has, however, a democratic electoral law. When the time comes for the election of the next parliament the men who have found the government against them will have a word to say at the ballot-box. Then the results will be worth watching.

Indeed the value of the ballot was never more clearly shown than in this great conflict. Without the training they have gained in national political battles the workers could not have fought such a consistent and varied fight. And now they lay down the strike only to take up their political weapon.

On the other hand the workers all over the world rejoice to see a demonstration of the fact that the strike can be made an effective weapon against the highly organized combinations of modern capital. This has been a bitter struggle. The details of it can probably never be realized by those far removed from the field of action. Money flowed in from distant lands, still thousands suffered from actual hunger. Among those who quit their employment were thousands of non-union men and scab-unionists. Yet those who yielded even to the pangs of bitter suffering were too few to count in the great reckoning of this tremendous army. Here we have an everlasting answer to the cynic and the pessimist. The working class can be marshalled into line to fight for its great, common purpose; it can remain true to the uttermost. And, even in the narrowest sense, it can win substantial victories.

The International Socialist Bureau. The International Bureau met at Brussels November 7 and 8. The most important matter taken up was the program of the next international congress. The congress is to meet at Copenhagen August 28 to September 4 of next year. The problems to be discussed are as follows: 1. The relation between the Socialist Party and the co-operative societies. 2. International courts of arbitration. 3. International co-operation. 4. The unemployed problem. 5. Capital punishment, especially as applied to cases of political activity. 6. Relations between the national parties and the International Bureau. The advisability of including the agrarian problem was discussed at great length. The decision reached was that this problem has not yet been sufficiently studied to furnish a profitable subject for discussion. The prevailing opinion seemed to be that the various national parties should immediately begin preliminary studies and that the results of these should be compared at the international congress of 1912.



WORLD OF LABOR



BY MAX S. HAYES

When dispatches were received in the convention hall on Monday morning of the last week's session of the American Federation of Labor, at Toronto, announcing that Gompers, Mitchell and Morrison would probably be compelled to begin their prison sentences before the week was ended, it was taken for granted that those officials would be re-elected without opposition while on their way to jail. All opposition that had developed on account of the electrical workers' controversy and for other reasons disappeared like a morning mist before the sun.

"Gompers is being elected president for life by the courts," was the declaration heard on all sides. Not that Gompers could have been defeated in this year's convention, even if the courts at Washington had not precipitated the crisis, but the opposition would have been more formidable than at any time during the past fifteen years.

On account of the complications in the electrical workers' controversy and the tearing up in state and central bodies, the slowness of the administration in the matter of making some political progress, as well as some personal views or grievances that had developed, there was considerable talk at the beginning of the convention of making changes or at least casting protest votes against the official family. And this talk did not come from the Socialists wholly by a long shot, although the "reds" are usually credited with being the disturbers.

After numerous conferences were held it was agreed that an attack upon the administration at this juncture would be misinterpreted—that the votes of the opposition would be twisted into an endorsement of the judicial decrees committing the labor officials to prison. Furthermore, Gompers and his colleagues have, throughout the legal battle in the famous Bucks stove case, labored unceasingly to broaden the contempt case and characterize it as an invasion of free speech and free press. And if there is anything that appeals to the intelligent radical it is that same constitutional

provision, and he doesn't like to be placed in a false light when such a crisis has been reached.

So there was nothing for the opposition to do but bottle their wrath, cuss Van Cleave and the courts for their meddling, go along with the conservatives, and live upon the hope that some day this judicial sparring would come to an end and permit the unionists to center their attention upon the solution of their own economic and political problems.

When the opposition to Gompers and his executive council melted into nothingness it carried the anticipated debate upon socialism with it. A counting of noses showed that at the very least 10 per cent of the vote would have been cast for the Socialist resolution introduced by several members of the miners' delegation, and some estimated that fully 41,000 votes, or about one-fourth of the convention, would have gone that way. But the necessity of maintaining absolute harmony and presenting a solid front to the common enemy become apparent to radicals and conservatives alike, and consequently the usually interesting debate upon Socialism, which always attracts the largest attendance during conventions, was held in abeyance.

On their part the conservatives, who are in control of the Federation machinery, were no less inspired with the desire for peace and harmony, as is demonstrated in the action taken to adjust the electrical workers' controversy, which became a nation-wide issue among the union people. It had become customary in such internal wars to dig up ancient history, to criminate and re-criminate and to prove to one's own satisfaction that the other fellow is a scab-awag and that the big I-am can do no wrong. When this momentous question that bid fair to develop into a small-sized insurrection came upon the floor, although the peace dove blinked on high, a hush fell upon the assemblage such as is experienced only in witnessing the desperate villain in a melodrama creep

toward the train of powder, torch in hand.

But no explosion came. The committee merely presented a few commonplace facts and advised that an arbitration committee of three—one to represent each faction and a third to be selected by President Gompers—be named to reunite the factions. One of the factional chiefs (McNulty) made a weak attempt to "start something," but the chilly reception that he received caused him to change his tune and he sang harmony before he closed. Thus the position of defiance to the A. F. of L. executive council assumed by the state bodies of Iowa and Ohio and city central bodies in Cleveland, Toledo, Detroit and other places was partially vindicated at least. The executive council had ruled that the Reid faction must surrender unconditionally and join the McNulty wing, which was and is in the minority. This ruling was challenged by the central and state bodies and their charters were revoked. But the central bodies still refused to be coerced, and demanded that both factions be amalgamated or neither recognized. Consequently in adopting the amalgamation idea the executive council's February decision was annulled.

It is quite likely that peace will be restored among the electrical workers, but the central bodies that defied the powers that be, forced the issue and compelled recognition of the Reid factions case, were martyred. They had disobeyed the law regarding the harboring of rebels, were judicially spanked and told to go home and be good little boys.

Another important step in the line of industrialism was the revocation of the charters of the car workers and amalgamated workers. The former were told to merge with another organization in that trade and the latter were instructed to join the carpenters. On a technicality the elevator constructors were given a temporary lease of life, but they will become a part of the machinists in the near future. A few years ago when the radicals advocated industrialism they were ridiculed, but the crafts are getting together now, as they are beginning to see pretty clearly the centralization of capital, the introduction of labor-saving machinery, and the self-evident necessity of presenting a solid phalanx during disputes.

Likewise it was unpopular a few years ago to suggest practical affiliation with

the organized workers of Europe through a central bureau, but it was unanimously decided to join the International Labor Secretariat and thus keep in touch with the working class in the old world.

There was little of the sensational or contentious and acrimonious discussion at the Toronto meeting. For the most part the proceedings were marked by a calm, thoughtful and dignified spirit. The shadow of the bastille appeared to have fallen upon the assemblage. The merciless attacks of the United States Steel Corporation, the American Tobacco Co., the National Association of Manufacturers and other combinations of capital had a strong tendency to bring the delegates to a realization that something more than passing resolutions and delivering grandiloquent speeches were necessary to meet the present situation.

But the delegates were no less determined to face every problem confronting the union movement and to redouble their efforts to organize the working people for the purpose of battling the common enemy. Not one but predicted that if Gompers, Mitchell and Morrison go to prison next year's convention will be the greatest labor gathering ever held on this continent, and that the growth in membership will break all previous records. In fact many delegates hoped and prayed that the three officers would be jailed before the year is out.

That the trade unions of the country are confronted by some hard problems in the shape of opposition from the class-conscious capitalists is nothing new to those who have watched developments during the past few years. What with centralization of capital into huge trusts and combines that in the very nature of things would ride roughshod over labor to squeeze profits out of the toilers; what with the steady and constant introduction of labor-saving machinery to cheapen production and increase the standing army of the unemployed upon which to draw in times of strikes; with hostile courts annulling laws meant to protect the workers, hurling injunctions in every industrial crisis, legalizing the blacklist, outlawing the boycott, imprisoning men who dare to protest against oppression, and mulcting union treasuries for alleged dam-

ages sustained by employers; with Congress and State legislatures turning a deaf ear to all cries for relief for the under dog in the unequal struggle, and governors and mayors standing ready to hurl the militia and police against those workers who still possess the manhood to revolt against slavish conditions; with the unions overrun with sneaks and spies ready to betray their fellows for a few pieces of silver and strike-breaking agencies in all the large cities recruiting scabs and thugs to assist in beating back labor and holding it in subjection—gentlemen, the situation is tough, damned tough.

But now several more moves are being made calculated to assist in the apparent well-planned scheme to force labor into hopeless slavery, and these moves are, as in most instances when labor is to be the victim, clandestine in their nature or at least appear innocent enough on the surface. In New York a National Employment Exchange has been launched. It is a very philanthropic institution outwardly. J. P. Morgan, John Rockefeller, Jacob Schiff, E. H. Gary, W. H. Moore, John D. Archbold and about a dozen other public-spirited citizens have contributed \$100,000 for the purpose of providing an agency through which the unemployed can be furnished with work. Branches are to be started in all the leading industrial centers. But it so happens that the promoters of this national exchange control millions of jobs, and they are simply forming a huge job trust. Heretofore the railway magnates and mine and mill barons have spent large sums of money in contracting with independent agencies to procure working people or in advertising in the newspapers for help wanted. In the future the applicants for jobs must pay for them, and so instead of paying out money to secure workers the philanthropic capitalists will sell their jobs and clean up a nice profit in the bargain. Moreover, through the adoption of an index card system containing all the data desired of applicants, the "agitators" and "undesirables" can be kept among the hungry until they repent of their evil ways and acknowledge that the golden calf is the only true god to worship.

Another project that is being launched sails under the title of the Employers' Indemnity Co., incorporated under the laws of West Virginia. The promoters of this institution are also great captains of industry, closely associated with

the United States Steel Corporation, the National Association of Manufacturers and similar combines that have well-known labor records. This company proposes to insure its stockholders, whose names are to be kept secret, against strikes and labor troubles of every character. On a premium of \$300 a year the employer is guaranteed protection to the amount of \$30,000 a year. Thus if a strike should be called in his establishment and last 300 working days, the boss could keep his shop locked, sit back in an easy chair and draw \$100 per day. More than that, the promoters of this new scheme have taken the United States government reports and made their estimates that strikes average about 25 days, and on this basis the employers would not only receive the financial protection indicated, but would actually pull down 36 per cent on their investments in the indemnity company.

While some Socialist writers claim, and probably with good reason, that the average capitalist is ignorant on economics and social science, yet it must be admitted that the plutocrats or their hirelings are gradually working out scientific schemes to protect their class interests economically, while politically, as everybody but an old party slave knows, their money has talked for a good many moons. On the other hand, if we study the efforts that are being made by the so-called leaders of labor to meet or circumvent the plans of the plutes the situation becomes truly pitiful, even tragical. "Don't you ever become weary of your helpless and almost hopeless struggle against the inevitable?" A captain of industry asked me recently, as he recounted some of the advantages that his side possesses in this irrepressible and seemingly everlasting contest.

I was compelled to admit that the situation looked deplorable at times when all things were considered, but it's always darkest before dawn, and besides the capitalists themselves are giving us so many object lessons nowadays that the workers are bound to be enlightened, whether they will or not. There is only one really serious danger, and that is, judging from past history, when revolutionary thought gets in full swing it may travel too fast for the Socialist movement to guide it.

When the strike of the tinplate branch of the Amalgamated Association of Iron,

Steel and Tinplate Workers began last June it was pointed out in the Review that while the struggle was primarily inaugurated to resist the introduction of the open shop (or non-union) policy of the United States Steel Corporation behind it all was a threatened reduction of wages in the face of advancing prices for the necessities of life. This fact was entirely ignored by all except a few newspapers, the bulk of the press sermonizing on the justice of the open shop and alleged fair treatment of union and non-union workmen alike.

But now the steel trust managers, feeling that they had successfully educated their scabs to produce tinplate, have been posting notices in some of the mills, notably at New Castle, shifting their strike-breakers from a day wage to a piece or tonnage system. According to the best informed mill workers, the average reduction under this latter system will be nothing less than 29 per cent. Last summer the trusts' reduction scheme was estimated as ranging between 2 per cent to 24 per cent. Now the cut runs from 10 per cent to 45 per cent.

The iron and steel hog is evidently striving to squeeze a hundred per cent dividends per annum out of its workers on the actual capital invested, in order that its votaries may purchase more wives and chateaux in France and become social lions among the rotten nobility of the old world, not to speak of buying American politicians from President down.

Many of the strike-breakers went on strike when the new order was posted and then the managers seduced some of the hungry strikers to take the places of the strike-breakers.

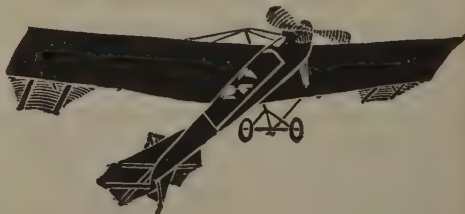
The middle of the past month representatives from the principal international unions affiliated with the A. F. of L. held a conference to adapt ways and means to combat the open shop policy of the United States Steel Corporation, and action was taken to shift from a defensive to an aggressive policy and move heaven and earth if possible to organize the thousands of non-unionists employed by the trust, secretly or otherwise, and continue a running fight on the octopus indefinitely.

Some time ago a wild yarn was set afloat and printed quite extensively that the Carnegie Steel Co., guided by Civic Federation influence, contemplated changing its policy toward organized

Aeroplanes and Social Revolution

IN a new book, entitled "Vehicles of the Air," which was given a **two-page review** in a recent issue of the **Chicago Tribune**, capitalist organ, Victor Lougheed, former editor of **Motor**, automobile magazine, said, regarding the sure escape for "criminals" which the aeroplane promises:

"Perhaps the solution will be a greater effort on the part of society as a whole, and especially upon the part of the now more powerful and arrogant elements within it, so to ameliorate and improve the conditions of the "criminal classes," so-called, and more particularly of the poverty-stricken classes—from which nearly all criminals are recruited by the reactions of oppressive environments—so that less crimes will be committed, not because of policing and punishment, but because of reduced incentive."



With this book, "Vehicles of the Air," its 550 pages of pictures, drawings and descriptions, **you**, with an ordinary set of carpenter's tools, can build an aeroplane (except the engine) that will **fly**.

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labor and was inclined to beg the labor officials to unionize its mills. There have been a good many jokes sprung in labor affairs, but this pipe-dream was about the limit. The comical feature about it was that the Carnegie Co. would invite the formation of craft unions in order to head off the organizing methods of the I. W. W.

Everybody knows that the Carnegie Steel Co. spells United States Steel Corporation, and certainly this latter combine has given sufficient evidence during the past few years that it doesn't give a continental dam whether the workers are organized along craft or industrial lines—they must be smashed as collective bodies. That fact has been pointed out in this department before and ought not to require repetition. All unions look alike to Morgan, Corey, Gary & Co., and it's a safe guess that they never bothered their heads enough to inquire about the relative merits of craft and industrial unionism.

The present trades unions largely are evolving slowly and logically along industrial lines, as that method is the best as far as it goes, but, ladies and gentlemen, the millennium will still be a long way off when that has been accomplished. There must be intelligent political as well as industrial action.

It looks as though the United Hatters of North America have won their long battle for self-preservation as an organization. Originally 59 concerns banded together as the Hat Manufacturers' Association and posted a forfeit (reported to have been \$25,000 each) to enforce the open shop.

After a fierce struggle a break occurred among the Connecticut manufacturers, the bulk of them making peace with the union and were promptly sued by the remaining open shoppers for the forfeit. Then came some important desertions in New Jersey, and New York, until less than a dozen of the union smashers remained. The latter hope to replenish some of their losses by securing the forfeits through action in the courts, but it is likely that the reunified firms will give them a merry battle.

The United Hatters lost but few of their members, and at present less than 10 per cent of their members are still on strike, and these are being cared for by assessments on those at work and contributions coming in from other organizations.

The indications are that the Hat Man-

ufacturers' Association will go the way of the United Typothetae of America, which attempted to destroy the Typographical Union, and it will be due to the class-consciousness of the workers displayed upon the industrial field at least. Perhaps ere long this same spirit will be manifested on the political field, but meanwhile credit is due to the men and women who have made sacrifices for the labor cause.

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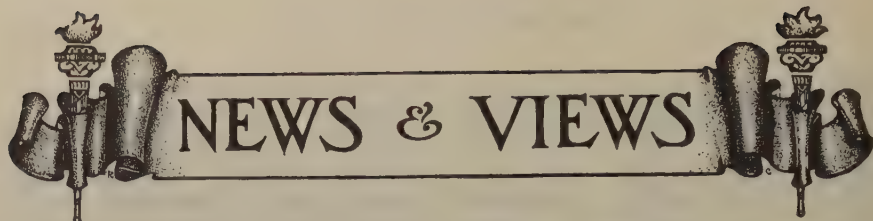
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NEWS & VIEWS

A LABOR PARTY. The two letters on this page from Lena Morrow Lewis and William McDevitt arrived too late to print with the other letters from candidates for the National Executive Committee in the front pages of this month's REVIEW, and we therefore make room for them here:

Lena Morrow Lewis. Replying to your question as to whether or not I am in favor of merging the Socialist party into a Labor party would say if you mean the Union Labor party such as we have had to contend with in San Francisco, by all means *No!* Or do you mean by your question the adopting of the policy of the Labor Party in England? It seems to me that the Labor party in England has been more concerned about getting some individual into Parliament to effect some reform rather than to hasten the downfall of Capitalism. So many of our members utterly fail to grasp the real object we are working for—the election of a new class (serving its own interests) to political power. If the election of *Individual Socialists* does not serve to hasten the overthrow and downfall of the Capitalist System and insure the political supremacy of the *working class*, then we are making no real progress. In the present organized, political party, with its dues-paying membership, and machinery of government, we have already a movement capable, if properly directed, of being developed into a mighty force sufficient to establish the working class in power. Not until the workers learn how to act together to do things democratically, will we ever have a real Social Democracy. The organized Socialist Party affords the opportunity in its round of routine business to develop the ability to do things together. To the extent that the propaganda carried on by the organization tends to make Social Revolutionists, to that extent will the party serve the interests of the working class.

If we develop a strong, efficient organization of dues-paying Social Revolutionists, we will have no trouble in finding a sane and sensible way to establish the political supremacy of the working class.

(Member, Local, San Francisco.)

William McDevitt. In response to your question whether I should favor turning the Socialist Party into a Labor Party I wish to reply:

Having studied, through constant reading of London *Justice* and other Socialist organs of Great Britain for many years, the trend and attitude of the Labor Party of England; having also lived in this city under a Labor Party administration, and having had an inside view of the political chicanery of the McCarthy Labor Party of San Francisco; being also very familiar with the ignorant or conscious reactionary principles of the men who as controllers of the present A. F. of L., would be looked to and followed as the leading spirits in a Labor Party; having, in short, been taught by long experience, that a so-called Labor Party is simply the most effective method of blanketing, smothering and stifling the revolutionary principles of Socialism, I avow myself an uncompromising foe to any project that proposes to fuse the Socialist Party with a Labor Party.

Personally I believe that the rank and file of labor in the A. F. of L. will soon be ripe for the support of a sound and stalwart Socialist Party; but the present leadership of the A. F. of L. is either appallingly ignorant of proletarian economics, or else is *hopelessly rotten*. It is too late now—the Socialist Party is too fully developed—for us to build on a Labor Party. Let labor *join our ranks*, build its hopes and its ideals on the hopes and ideals of the Socialist movement. That way lies sound progress; the other course, the course of retreat, the surrender of the vanguard of the militant proletarians to the reactionary laborite politicians, can spell nothing but defeat, confusion, and disaster. Let the Socialist Party beware of the Delilahs, like Gompers, Mitchell, McCarthy, and all that reactionary ilk; these would simply shear Sampson of his power and carry him blindfolded and bound into the camp of Taft or Bryan or, if possible, worse enemies to the real cause of labor and the Social Revolution. Yours for labor solidarity and not spineless jobhunting.

San Francisco, Cal.

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Hillquit-Stokes Correspondence

The following letters, which are sent us by Comrade Stokes just as we go to press, should be read carefully by every party member before casting his vote in the election now going on:

320 Broadway, New York,
November 30, 1909.

*Mr. J. G. Phelps Stokes, Caritas Island,
Stamford, Conn.:*

DEAR GRAHAM:—Comrade Wentworth just sends me a letter received by him from William English Walling, which seems to be one of a number sent by the latter to party members all over the country. The circular is based upon a private and confidential letter written by Simons to Walling, and the inferences drawn by Walling from that letter are, among other things, that the majority of the present National Executive Committee proposes to perpetuate itself "without regard to what action the party takes," and also "that the present majority of the Executive Committee will not hesitate in case they are defeated in the coming election, to attempt to take possession of the party machinery and the party press, or, failing that, to attempt the organization of an "Independent Labor" or "Social Democratic party." In referring to the letter of Simons, upon which these inferences are based, Walling says: "I have shown it to J. G. Phelps Stokes and others here, to whom it conveys the same impression as it does to myself."

I am very little concerned with Mr. Walling's nightmares, nor with his ethics in publishing a private letter addressed to him in confidence by one who apparently considered him his friend, but I am intensely interested in learning whether you are quoted by him correctly.

I cannot believe that you really agree with Walling's morbid construction of Simons' letter, nor with his method of publishing distorted fragments of it, or publishing it at all, and for my own satisfaction, I will ask you whether you could care to tell me if Walling was authorized to use your name in connection with his circular and what your real attitude on the subject is.

Cordially yours,
MORRIS HILLQUIT.

STAMFORD, Conn., December 2, 1909.

Mr. Morris Hillquit, 320 Broadway, New York City:

DEAR MORRIS:—I must reply to your letter both "Yes" and "No."

Simons's letter did certainly astound me, and having in mind the attitude which he took at that last meeting of the Executive Committee which I attended in Chicago (when I submitted my report on Methods of Propaganda) and reading very carefully Simons's astonishing statements which Walling quoted correctly and at much length, I could not escape interpreting the spirit of Simons's letter essentially as I understand that Walling interpreted it.

However, I expressed to Walling my dissent from his first-suggested view that the present Executive Committee intends "to perpetuate itself without regard to what action the party takes." Walling agreed to modify that statement by inserting the words "if possible." The words "if possible" may be variously interpreted. I have not the remotest idea that if it came to an actual "show-down" any member of the Executive Committee would seek or desire or be willing to retain office if the majority of the party membership voted against him; although Simons's statement that the Executive Committee ("we") "would not surrender" would seem to warrant an apprehension even so extremely serious as this would be.

But many other things seem to justify apprehensions as to certain apparent tendencies on the part of various members of the Executive Committee.

For instance, Simons's emphatic statements in his letter regarding the necessity of capturing the American Federation of Labor, in connection with which he said: "We must not jeopardize action for the sake of our own peculiar ideas." But Simons does not appear to stand alone in this attitude.

As to Bob Hunter's hope that a Labor Party can be established somewhat on the lines of the British I. L. P., I can-

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not entertain the slightest doubt, and I don't see how you can either. He expressed that hope very specifically to Rose and me on the occasion of the visit which you and he paid us early in the summer, and you expressed no dissent, but on the contrary vigorously supported his arguments. I have an entirely clear recollection of this, as has Rose, who was present with us at the time.

As to Victor Berger, while I have a very high opinion of the value of the services he has rendered in the movement (and I am glad to say the same of the services rendered by all the members of the Executive Committee) yet his continued omission of all reference to the class struggle in the membership pledge in Wisconsin (despite the demand of the Party, as expressed in its Constitution, that expressed recognition of the class struggle shall be one of the requirements for membership) and his requirement that all applicants for membership in Wisconsin shall apply for membership not in "the Socialist Party" or even in "the Social Democratic Party," but in "the Social Democratic Party of Wisconsin," and his repeated statements both in Convention and out and in his paper, regarding the trade unions and politics, and his report on Trade Unions at the last meeting of the Executive Committee which I attended, in which report he recommended that if an independent Labor Party were formed by the trade unionists the Socialist Party should give it what tacit encouragement it could,— "should look upon it with entire friendship"—(which recommendation, you will perhaps recall, I declared would create a "public scandal" and so opposed that Victor withdrew it) all this and much more makes it impossible for me to doubt that Victor too would welcome an "Independent Labor Party," to say nothing of a "Social Democratic Party" such as he has organized already.

From a fairly close acquaintance with John Spargo I am unable to doubt that he would stand with Simons and Bob and Victor if it came to a show-down. I am unable to feel sure as to which side you would be on, though I confess to the impression that you might stand with the four whom I have mentioned. On the other hand, I don't believe that either Work or Floaten would.

You are mistaken in thinking that Walling published Simons's letter. He did not do so, nor did he publish any fragments of it. He thought it of sufficient importance to discuss with a very

few comrades whose judgment and discretion he thought he could trust. I advised him against this at first; but he expressed the view that the bearing of the letter upon certain evident tendencies in the party was so great that it, or at least its essential features, should be discussed frankly by a very few comrades who would not be likely to distort or misconstrue it. After some consideration I felt that he was right, and I still think so. With three or four exceptions the letter was sent only to his personal friends. The three or four exceptions were comrades whom Frank Bohn, and I suggested as likely to be equally interested in the discussion, and competent to consider it fairly.

Walling wrote Simons very frankly concerning the whole affair, and informed him that these letters had been sent. Whether or not Simons's letter (or Walling's letter concerning it) will be published, will, I suspect, depend a good deal on the advice that Walling receives from the comrades to whom he has written. But Walling would not think of publishing his own letter without publishing Simons's too.

I should be very glad if you show this to any one you like, or publish it if you think it of sufficient interest.

Fraternally yours,

(Signed) J. G. PHELPS STOKES.

320 Broadway, New York.

December 3, 1909.

Mr. J. G. Phelps Stokes, Caritas Island, Stamford, Conn.:

DEAR GRAHAM:—I have your letter of December 2nd. All I can say in reply to it is that you seem to me to be exceedingly indulgent to Mr. Walling and surprisingly uncharitable towards your comrades whom he attacks. The views of Hunter, Berger Spargo and mine on the subject of the possible organization of a Labor Party are entirely irrelevant to the matter under discussion. I have at all times maintained that the prime object of the Socialist Party is to organize the workingclass of this country politically, that it would be very desirable to have the Socialist Party as such perform that task; that it has so far not succeeded in doing so, and that if a bona-fide workingmen's party should be organized in this country for political purposes on a true workingmen's platform, and upon the principle of independent and uncompromising workingclass politics, our party could not consistently oppose such an organization, but that it would

have to support it and co-operate with it. This, as I understand it, has also been the position of Hunter, Berger, Simons, and Spargo, and if I am not mistaken, this is to-day the position of the overwhelming majority of the members of our party. At any rate, I always considered, and still consider, it the only sane and logical attitude for Marxian Socialists to take. None of us ever made a secret of these views; on the contrary, we have been discussing them in private and public very freely, whenever an occasion presented itself. With these views you or Walling may disagree, and I will have no quarrel with either of you on that account.

What I contend is:

1st. That Simons's letter to Walling, no matter how extravagant and extreme in expression, contained no more than a statement of the position outlined above.

2nd. That the letter, at any rate, was a personal letter of Simons's, for the contents of which neither Berger, Hunter, Spargo nor I, were in any way responsible.

3rd. That the letter was of a confidential nature, and not intended for circulation or publication.

4th. That Walling committed a dishonorable act by circulating the letter.

5th. That he distorted the sense and meaning of the letter, by reading into it an admission of the existence of a conspiracy on the part of some members of the National Executive Committee to take hold of the party machinery by force, and to attempt the organization of a rival Party.

6th. Walling distinctly asserts that he has shown Simons's letter to you, and that the letter conveyed the same impression to you as it did to him, i. e., the impression of a conspiracy on our part for the purposes mentioned.

Whatever impressions you got from private conversations with any of us has nothing to do with the case: the question is: Can Simons' letter legitimately be interpreted as an admission of the existence of a conspiracy on our part as asserted, and do you so interpret it?

I must confess I hardly expected you to make such fine distinctions in the meaning of expressions as you do. I do not see that the words "if possible" in any way modify or attenuate Walling's original statement, nor do I see much justification for your narrow interpretation of the word "published." To "publish" means to make public, and

Walling certainly did make public portions of Simons's confidential letter by copying them and sending them broadcast all over the country. For that matter, I would have thought it a much manlier course, if the word "manlier" can at all be applied to such case, for Walling to have published his letter in our papers. That would at least have been an open attack, and would have given Simons and the rest of us an opportunity to meet it as publicly. It may interest you, perhaps, to know that Simons' letter to Walling was read by Comrade Myers at the last meeting of the General Committee of Local New York and was printed verbatim in the *Volkszeitung* of last Monday. On the whole, the entire proceeding seems to me so outrageously underhanded, that I am simply amazed to find you defending it in any way. Thank you for your permission to publish your letter. I do not expect to take advantage of it. When I wrote to you that I wanted the information for my own satisfaction, I fully meant it, and I am in the habit of permitting my friends to publish whatever they themselves deem proper. Bad as I may be in other respects, I have never yet circulated or published a private letter written to me by a confiding friend.

Sincerely and fraternally yours,
MORRIS HILLQUIT.

STAMFORD, CONN., Dec. 11, 1909.
Mr. Morris Hillquit, 320 Broadway, New York, N. Y.:

MY DEAR MORRIS—The more I think of the situation discussed in Simons's letter to Walling, the more serious the situation appears to me to be, and the more I am impressed that the rank and file of the party do not understand your views or the views of other members of the Executive Committee upon the Labor Party issue.

I have particularly in mind the following statement by you in your letter to me of December 3rd:

"I have at all times maintained that the prime object of the Socialist Party is to organize the working class of this country politically; that it would be very desirable to have the Socialist Party as such perform that task; that it has so far not succeeded in doing so, and that if a bona-fide workingmen's party should be organized in this country for political purposes on a true workingmen's platform, and upon the principle of independent and uncompro-

mising working class politics, our party could not consistently oppose such an organization, but that it would have to support it and co-operate with it. This, as I understand it, has also been the position of Hunter, Berger, Simons and Spargo, and if I am not mistaken, this is to-day the position of the overwhelming majority of the members of our party. At any rate I always considered and still consider, it the only sane and logical attitude for Marxian Socialists to take. None of us ever made a secret of these views; on the contrary, we have been discussing them in private and public very freely, whenever an opportunity presented itself."

It seems to me of more than ordinary importance that this clear expression of your personal views and attitude should be frankly laid before the members of the party at this time, and that the views of the other members of the Executive Committee should be similarly publicly expressed by them, in order that we may all know just what the position is that each candidate takes in regard to this most important matter when we cast our votes in the pending election.

I note also your statement in your letter that "you are in the habit of permitting your friends to publish whatever they themselves deem proper." It seems to me both proper and desirable that either your letter to me of December 3rd or this my letter to you, be published at this time—whichever letter you prefer, or both, if you desire it.

I should be glad to receive an expression of your wishes as regards this.

Fraternally yours,

(Signed) J. G. PHELPS STOKES.

320 Broadway,
NEW YORK, Dec. 11, 1909.

*Mr. J. G. Phelps Stokes, Caritas Island,
Stamford, Conn.:*

DEAR GRAHAM—The publication of Simons' letter and Walling's comment on it seems to call for a public statement on the subject from me, as one of the parties attacked by Walling. I have said all I care to say on the subject in my letters to you, and I presume your letter to me contains your complete explanation of your connection with the matter. Under the circumstances, I am inclined to think that it may be proper to publish our correspondence, and I am writing this to ask you whether you have any objection to such publication. Of course, if you have the slightest objection, I will desist from it.

Sincerely yours, MORRIS HILLQUIT.

STAMFORD, CONN., Dec. 13, 1909.

Mr. Morris Hillquit, 320 Broadway, New York, N. Y.:

MY DEAR MORRIS—I have your letter of the 11th instant and have no objection to, but on the contrary approve, publication of the entire correspondence that has passed between us in regard to the Simons-Walling matter. I must ask you to include this letter with the rest, since one item that was inadvertently omitted from my letter to you of 2nd instant has become of some slight importance in view of the publicity that has now come to the whole affair.

Walling's statement of his understanding that the present Executive Committee "are determined to maintain themselves in office against all opposition," I objected to when he read it to me and characterized it as "hyperbole," and Walling agreed that it should and would be modified. In re-drafting the letter (I did not know that this was being done, or intended), Walling added half a dozen or more statements toward the end that I should not have added.

Your statement in your letter of December 3rd that Walling "committed a dishonorable act in circulating the letter" of Simons to the extent that he did, I must furthermore take exception to. Opinions may doubtless differ, but to my mind the dishonorable act, if there be any, is on the part of such elected officials as appeal to conventional standards concerning "sanctity of personal correspondence" to prevent their private views on matters of vital party concern from being laid before their constituents.

To my mind, an elected official, especially one seeking re-election, is dishonorable if he seeks privacy for any of his views concerning the interests of his party. I do not respect that standard of alleged "ethics" and "honor" that would justify any elected official or candidate for election in keeping, or desiring to keep, from his constituents any of his views or utterances or actions dealing exclusively with party affairs.

Fraternally yours,

(Signed) J. G. PHELPS STOKES.

320 Broadway,
NEW YORK, Dec. 14, 1909.

*Mr. J. G. Phelps Stokes, Caritas Island,
Stamford, Conn.:*

MY DEAR GRAHAM—My first impulse after seeing Simons' letter to Walling and the latter's comments published in the "Call," was to publish our correspondence and I wrote to you accord-

ingly. I have since examined that correspondence again, and from such examination as well as from the tone of your last two letters, I have concluded that no good purpose would be served by such publication.

The recent discussions in the "Call" have unfortunately assumed the character of a personal and acrimonious controversy, which is neither helpful nor instructive nor creditable to our party and movement. The Walling incident has contributed very largely to impart that character to the discussion, and little will be gained by prolonging it. I still adhere to my characterization of Walling's conduct in this matter, and I am little persuaded by your new code of ethics based upon the doctrine of "the end sanctions the needs." But with all that, I do not believe on second thought that Walling's conduct or our conceptions of propriety are of practical interest to the movement. Furthermore, you take occasion in your letter to refer to certain statements made to you in private conversation by Hunter, Spargo and Berger. These statements may sound different and convey somewhat different impressions when formulated by you and taken out from their context, and I do not think I want to be a party to their publication in their present form, at least not so long as their authors have not been consulted about it and have not approved of the statements in their precise formulation as representing their views. The members are, of course, entitled to know the views of their elected officers and candidates for office, upon all questions of party policy, but there is really no good reason why such statements should be intermingled with a whole lot of irrelevant and controversial matter. Comrade Kerr has recently addressed to each member of the National Executive Committee, and, I believe, also to all candidates for election to the Committee, the direct question whether they would favor a merger of the Socialist Party with a Labor Party, and the answers will be published in the next issue of the International Socialist Review, which, I believe, is to be appear very shortly. For your information, I enclose a copy of my statement, which is in substance identical with the statement contained in my letter to you, except that it is more explicit and direct, and has the advantage of being free from the element of personal controversy. I understand Hunter, Spargo, Simons and Berger have likewise sent in

their answers to the Review. If the other party papers think it worth while, they will be at liberty to reprint these statements.

I can't help resenting somewhat your admonition to me "to frankly lay my personal views before the members of the party." I have never lacked in frankness and outspokenness, my dear Graham. Whatever views I hold on the subject of party policy and party tactics, are, of course, such which I consider most conducive to the welfare of our party, and I naturally endeavor to give them the widest possible publicity, instead of suppressing them. This, of course, holds good of you as well as of me and of Hunter, Berger, Simons and Spargo, as well as of either of us.

Fraternally yours,

MORRIS HILLQUIT.

STAMFORD, CONN., Dec. 15, 1909.

Mr. Morris Hillquit, 320 Broadway, New York, N. Y.:

MY DEAR MORRIS—I have your letter of 14th instant and note that on second thought you do not think it worth while to publish our correspondence concerning the Labor Party matter. I note especially your statement that I have taken occasion in my letter to refer to certain statements made to me in private conversation by Hunter, Spargo and Berger, and that these statements may sound different and convey somewhat different impressions when formulated by me and taken out from their context, and that you do not think that you want to be a party to their publication in their present form, at least not so long as their authors have not been consulted about it and have not approved of the statements in their precise formulation as representing their views.

I have not formulated or attempted to formulate, precisely or otherwise, any such private statement in any of my letters to you. Plainly you are in error as regards this.

I feel so strongly that there are issues involved in this controversy far deeper than mere "personalities", and infinitely more important, that I am most anxious that all the light possible be shed upon it at this time in view of the election that is pending. As to your statement addressed to the International Socialist Review, it does not seem to me to be as clear or explicit as your statement concerning the same matter in your letters to me.

I do not profess to be more competent

than any one else to judge whether or not an independent Labor Party would be desirable from the Socialist's standpoint; but I do believe that the time is exceedingly opportune for immediate consideration of this most important and living question by the entire rank and file of our party.

In view of all the circumstances alluded to in our letters, I believe that our entire correspondence up to date should be offered to the Socialist press for publication, and since you appear indisposed to assume responsibility for such publication, I must assume that responsibility myself.

It is especially with a view to promote in our party harmony of the deep-seated and well-founded kind, that I am urging such publication. Superficial harmony, based on misconceptions of the facts, would, it seems to me, be far worse than useless.

Sincerely and fraternally yours,
(Signed) J. G. PHELPS STOKES.

GROCERIES AT WHOLESALE

Several of the comrades—connected with the wholesale grocery business—have made arrangements with a half dozen wholesale houses in Chicago to get goods shipped in whole package orders at absolutely wholesale prices—at a saving to consumers from 40% to 100%. Many Locals and trade union groups are taking advantage of this from all parts of the country.

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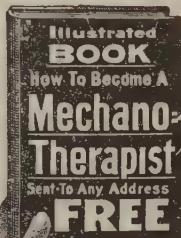
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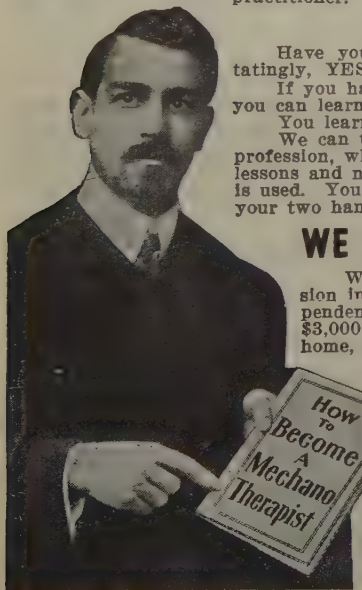
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A PARTY, NOT A SECT. The rapid rate at which economic evolution is proceeding in this country is vividly set forth in the striking series of articles "John D." has been contributing to our columns. The Socialist party is destined in the near future to play a very important role in this country. We have important work to do. We are to be a real political party, and more than a mere political party, for our goal is Revolution.

We must face our great destiny. We must realize that we must cease to be a mere sect. The steadily growing financial insecurity of the Middle Classes, and the disintegration of bourgeois thought which is fast losing all respect for traditional theory, are sure to drive more and more non-proletarian elements to us. These we must corially welcome assiduously educate and train, and utilize to the utmost in our ever-growing work of propaganda, education and organization.

We must prove by our acts that we have grown into a party big enough to welcome and assimilate widely divergent elements. The Socialist party is, first and foremost, the party of the workers; but it has room and a warm welcome for the millionaire and parlor Socialists, too. Aye, it has room for intellectuals, provided they have confidence enough in their own intellects not to feel compelled constantly to assert their intellectuality. Such intellectuals are sure of a hearty welcome in the party of the proletarians, whose aim it is to make every worker an intellectual.

The party has room for the Marxist and the Christian Socialist; it has room for the I. W. W. man and the A. F. of L. man; it has room, too, for those who are still unfortunate enough to be unorganized.

Would it prove big enough to contain "leaders" who should sow seeds of suspicion broadcast by wild talk of "spies" and "agents provocateurs" whenever they should find their power in the organization imperilled, while they themselves should actively engage in plans to emasculate the party? Fortunately, we are not yet forced to answer this question, and we hope may never be compelled to face it. But should the question be forced upon us, our answer is ready.—Editorial in *New York Sunday Call*, Dec. 5.

A QUESTION OF TACTICS. Comrade S. W. Motley of Twin Falls, Idaho, asks us to answer through the REVIEW the question whether Socialists violate the

principles of Socialism or the tactics of the Socialist Party by voting against saloons in a local election when political parties are not making an issue of it in a regular campaign. If by the question he means voting for the aldermanic candidates of a capitalistic no-license party, then the violation of Socialist principles and tactics is exactly the same as would be involved in voting for Republicans or Democrats. If he means voting against license on a local referendum, then a party member can vote as he likes without forfeiting his membership in the party. But Socialists should remember that "no license" under capitalism tends to make jobs scarce and to depress the standard of living of wage-workers; it is moreover a species of that governmental regulation of persons which international Socialism aims to abolish.

ALBERTA AND SASKATCHEWAN comrades are requested to take notice that Comrade William Gribble of Toronto, who has lately been working in British Columbia as organizer for the Socialist party in Canada, will soon be coming eastward. Those desiring to make dates for him should write at once to C. M. O'Brien, box 647, Calgary, Alta.

SOCIALISM IS WORTH STUDYING.

Anybody can talk about it, but it takes some study to talk about it intelligently. Fortunately the standard socialist books are cheap. We will mail you free of charge a book entitled "What to Read on Socialism," which tells all about them.

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A WAY TO SELL LITERATURE.

I want to tell you of a way I have taken to sell literature. It may be of use to others. I am a very busy man—works every day in the week and am also doing at least three hours' work a day at home, so I don't have much time to get out. Again I have found that often when I have started out to see six or eight people in an evening, two or three seem to be the limit. They all want to *talk it over*, and it is hard to get away. So I have adopted the following plan.

I get some large envelopes, put a Socialist book or pamphlet in each, and with it a letter somewhat like that below. Each envelope is addressed, and my boy delivers them all in a short time. This is the letter:

"Dear ———: I have so much to do that I find I must take some way to save time and I am taking the following way to do so. I am very much interested in spreading information as to what Socialism really is. You know there are many people who are misrepresenting Socialism — some through ignorance, some for other reasons. Now I hold it is important that every one of us *know* what Socialism is. If it is a good thing we want it; if it is a bad thing we want to fight it. It is an important question for us, and it is important that we know where we stand. And we cannot, until we know what Socialism is. Even if you want to oppose Socialism, how can you do so until you know what Socialism is?

"As I have said, I am interested in spreading the truth about Socialism, and I am sending you this little book, in hopes you will read it carefully. The book is for sale, and if after reading it, you feel you would like to keep it, you may do so by paying the boy who will call, ——— cents. But remember, reading the book puts you under no obligation to buy. I hope you will read it any way. I don't want you to buy the book unless you really want it.

"On ——— the boy who brought this will call and you may give him either the book or its price, just as you please. *Read it anyway.* Yours for Socialism. ———"

I set the date when the boy will call far enough ahead to give everyone a fair chance to read the book. Of course, I get some of them back, but I have met with very good success, and I think other busy comrades may make use of the suggestion. Yours for the Revolution.

WILLIAM E. DIXON.

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THE LAST GOVERNMENTAL REVOLUTION. I have just read "Unionism and Socialist Politics," by B. E. Nilsson in the November Review.

He almost but not quite touches a very vital point that I have wanted to see Socialists emphasize but so far have never seen mentioned by any one. I mean the political revolution the United States has passed through within the last thirty or forty years.

All who have read Ancient Society, by Morgan, know that modern governments are based on territory and property. To those who have not read Ancient Society I would say that there are but three ways one can come in contract with his government: As a taxpayer through his property; as a voter within a given territory, or he may commit a crime and the courts will take cognizance of him.

The first two ways mentioned prove Morgan's contention that modern governments are based, as stated above, on territory and property.

There is not an intelligent man in the United States who does not know that the great industries—the trusts—dominate every branch of our government. All realize that they, the "trusts," own the Supreme Court, body and soul, and dictate who shall be elected president and who shall make the laws, both State and national.

This being true it is readily seen that our government instead of being a republic is an industrial oligarchy, and when the middle class bourgeoisie understand this they will be more ready to listen to socialists whose wish is to change to an industrial democracy.

Yours for the next revolution,
G. R. HUFF.

WANTED—WOMEN. The need of more interest in the party organization is well understood, but how to stimulate interest is the problem. We cannot expect attendance at local meetings unless they are made interesting. Men alone make a very uninteresting meeting. We need more women in the organization. Woman can arrange entertainments, suppers, dances and picnics. Why are there not more women in the Socialist Party? A great many families of the working class can not afford to pay dues for two; in these cases the man alone is a member of the party; his wife is disfranchised; yet it is her money as well as his that pays the dues. If she attends the meetings, it is as a spectator, while all the time she is helping pay the dues. The red card of the

Socialist Party should carry the name of the man and his wife, provided she is a Socialist, with voice and vote on all party matters. Yours for the Revolution.
W. E. ELBE.

Mt. Vernon, Wash.

A CORRECTION. A mistake is made by B. E. Nilsson, on page 402 of the current REVIEW. Here it is, "The 'Appeal to Reason' frequently uses the phrase 'Let the nation own the trusts.'" Have carefully read the "Appeal" for seven years and cannot now remember of ever having read that phrase. It should have been credited to Wilshire's magazine and not to the "Appeal." The "Appeal to Reason" is the best paper in the United States for the purpose for which it is intended, i. e., the stirring up of discontent. Yours fraternally,

A SUBSCRIBER.

MUNCIE, IND. The following resolutions were passed in a mass meeting of working people Sunday, Dec. 12, 1909:

WHEREAS, The ruling class of Spokane, Wash., consisting of employers, employment agents and city authorities, has entered into a criminal conspiracy by enacting an unconstitutional anti-free-speech ordinance, discriminating against the Industrial Workers; and

WHEREAS, The Industrial Workers of the World has gained power through organization and education and is destined to abolish wage slavery, employment shark robbery and "law and order" brutality, and once for all emancipate the proletariat from all systems of exploitation; therefore, be it

Resolved, That we pledge ourselves to back our fellow workers now incarcerated in the dungeons of Spokane, morally, financially and in every other way possible; and be it further

Resolved, That we request publicity of these and similar resolutions in all working class papers and periodicals.

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MODEL SANITARY HOUSE.

Sanitary Houses. The model of the new ideal sanitary concrete workingman's home, awarded the gold medal at the International Tuberculosis Congress recently held in Washington, D. C., is shown in this illustration. The entire building, with the exception of the tile decoration of the roof and the cast-iron window frames is of concrete, cast in forms. It was designed by a Washington architect, and can be built for \$1,200.

The great feature of the house is the extraordinary arrangement for perfect sanitation. To clean the rooms a hose is turned on the walls and floors and the water is drained off by tiled spouts dis-

charging on the lawn outside. There is no handling of coal or ashes, no shelter for vermin or insects, and waste heat from the cooking range warms the house. Coal is hoisted by chain block, dumped through a coal hole in the roof, and fed automatically into the stove. Ashes drop from the firebox into a can and are then removed from the outside. Garbage is disposed of in a cast-iron chamber in the smoke flue, where waste is dried, then dumped by use of a damper into the firebox. A roof-garden furnishes outdoor sleeping apartments.

A block of these houses is now being built in Washington.



Do You Want the Review? For a year we tried an experiment with the *Review* which would doubtless have worked well with an equally readable magazine appealing to the "respectable" rather than the "undesirable" citizens. We supplied it returnable to some thousands of newsdealers. We gave the plan a fair trial. Some copies were sold each month in that way, but at a cost far in excess of the amount received from the newsdealers' sales.

Hereafter no dealer will have the *Review* for sale unless he pays for every copy sent him, whether sold or not. Naturally, therefore, dealers who are not socialists will refuse to sell the *Review* at all, unless they can be assured of a sale that will secure them against loss. Here is where you come in.

If you prefer to buy of a dealer, and want to have him sell the *Review* to others, give him a definite order for one copy a month at ten cents, and promise to take one or two more off his hands at cost if he can't sell them.

Bundle Orders. Our important and increasing sales this last year have not been through dealers but through socialists who have ordered copies to sell at street and hall meetings, from house to house, or at the shops where they work. These orders have doubled twice during the year and should double again in the near future. We send *ten copies to one address for sixty cents; forty copies to one address for two dollars*; more at the same rate. This includes postage within the United States; a cent a copy must be added for postage to Canada and two cents for postage to other countries. If you can not use so many as forty of one issue, \$2.00 will pay for twenty copies two months, ten copies four months, or five copies eight months, but you can not get this low rate on an order for less than \$2.00 worth.

A Dollar a Year. The surest, safest and most convenient way to get the *Review* is to send a dollar for a year's subscription. We want to enlarge the *Review* again in July. We can do it easily if half of our present readers will each send a dollar for a year's subscription. Don't wait. Cut out this blank, write your address on it, buy a postal order for a dollar and send it on:

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Enclosed find \$1.00 (if in Canada \$1.20, England \$1.36) for which please send me the *REVIEW* one year.

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Our Record for November. Ours is the only periodical we know of that publishes its actual receipts and expenditures each month. We can afford to do this because we pay our bills promptly, and also because we have no dividends and no fancy salaries to cover up. We have all along been hampered by lack of capital, and a number of comrades have helped us with loans. These we are beginning to pay off, as the month's statement shows.

Receipts.

Cash balance, Nov. 1	\$ 759.56
Book sales	2,317.04
Review subscriptions and sales	914.95
Review advertising	112.82
Sales of stock	120.24
Loans from stockholders	505.70
E. Peterson, for Swedish strikers	4.00
Donation: H. R. Kearns	1.00

\$4,735.31

Expenditures.

Manufacture of books	\$ 393.66
Books purchased	343.63
Printing November Review	552.21
Review articles, drawings, etc.	68.45
Wages of office clerks	349.15
Mary E. Marcy, on salary	80.00
C. H. Kerr, on salary	125.00
Postage and expressage	438.50
Interest	13.50
Rent	70.00
Miscellaneous expenses	98.58
Advertising	650.28
Copyrights	27.00
Loans repaid	1,211.51
Swedish strikers' relief	4.00
Cash balance, Nov. 30	309.84

\$4,735.31

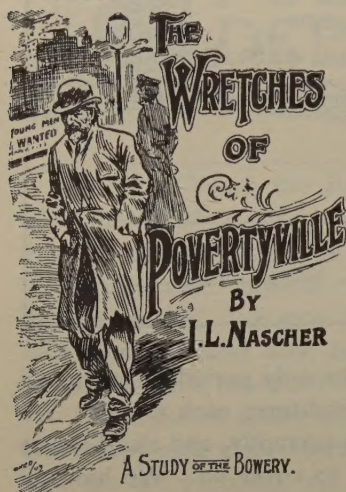
The edition of the *Review* this month is 22,000. If each reader would send a dollar for a year's subscription and another dollar for books, we could pay off all loans and have enough working capital left to double the circulation of the *Review* and the output of books during 1910.

If we are doing the work you want done, take hold with the rest. We have already made a big success. With your help we shall double our work again during 1910.

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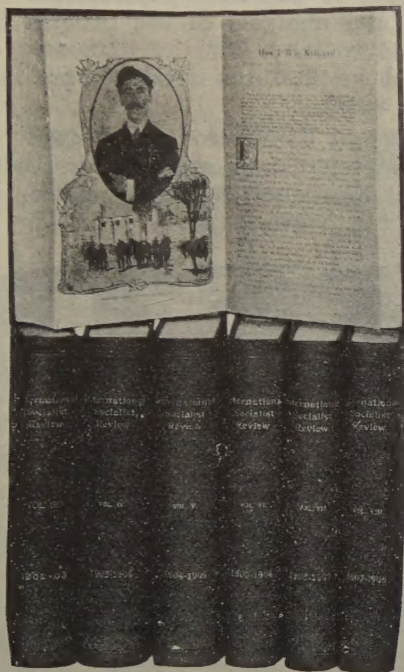
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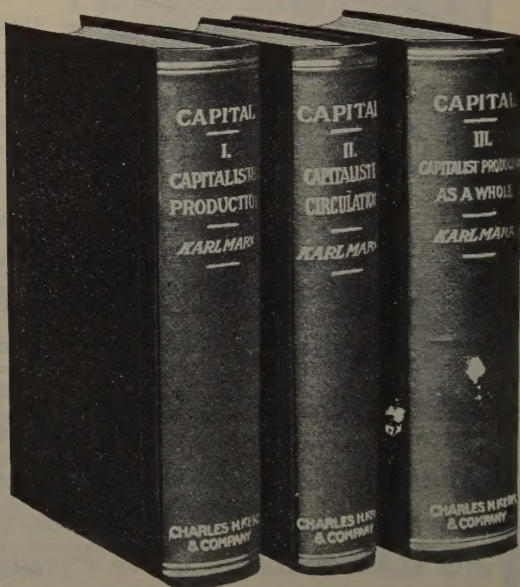
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The three volumes, in a strong box, will be sent by express prepaid on receipt of \$6.00, and we will send the purchaser a credit slip for \$2.40, which will be receivable the same as cash at any time within a year toward the purchase of a share of stock in our publishing house at \$10.00.

Or for \$12.00 cash with order we will send the set of books by express prepaid with a fully-paid certificate for a share of stock. If you do not already know the advantage of holding a share, ask for a copy of **What to Read on Socialism**, mailed free on request.

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